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PART III.

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Tarraingthe siar o
leabarlann Roinn
Bhealoideas Eireann
Withdrawn from Department
of Irish Folklore

INISTIOGE AND THE CROZIER OF ST. PATRICK.

(BY THE REV. PATRICK NEARY, C.C.)

A learned paper read by Mr. Morrin, at a recent meeting of our Diocesan Archæological Society, has given rise to an interesting controversy. From a Charter of Henry III., preserved in the British Museum (Charter Roll 14, Henry III., p. 1., MS.), Mr. Morrin feels confident that the Crozier of St. Patrick, commonly known as "The Staff of Jesus," was about 600 years ago preserved at Inistioge. As an Ossory Priest, I would feel it an honour to my native diocese to have a monastery in it selected, even for a brief period, as the depository of a relic so precious and so venerated from the days of our National Apostle down to the year 1538, when it was sacrilegiously burned in Dublin, having been previously stripped of the priceless gems and precious stones with which the piety of our Catholic forefathers had studded it.

To remove all doubt as to the authenticity of this Charter, and as to the proof it affords of his contention, Mr. Morrin sent to London "for an official copy and translation" thereof. Here are the Latin text and the translation as published in the *Kilkenny Journal* (Sept. 19, 1877):

Henricus Rex, &c., salutem, inspeximus cartam Domini Johannis, Regis patris nostri quam fecit Johanni quondam Dublinensi archiepiscopo dum fuit Mortoniœ in hec verba; Ioannes comes Mortoniœ Dominus Hiberniæ . . . . Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmassè Johannè Dublinensi Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis omnes possessiones tum in ecclesiasticis, quam in mundanis tenementis quas predecessores ejus tenuerunt et que de novo mea et aliorum pia largitione ecclesiæ Dulinensi collata sunt . . . . . terram etiam de Kilfechre in Ossoria quam ei dedit Rex D . . . . assensu patris mei, et terram de Fidoyne que est ex dono meo et feodum militis quod assensu meo datum fuit baculo Jesu apud Inistyoch, et feodum militis in Media ex dono Hugonis de Lacy. . . . . .

Henry the King, &c., greeting. We have inspected a charter of the Lord John the King, our father, which he made to John (Comyn), formerly Archbishop of Dublin, whilst he was Earl of Moreton, Lord of Ireland. . . . Know ye that I have granted, and by my present charter confirmed to John, Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, all the possessions, as well in ecclesiastical as in worldly tenements, which his predecessors held, and which we *de novo* conferred, by the pious largess of myself and others, on the Church of Dublin. . . Also, the land of Kilfechre, in Ossory, which King D. . . . gave to him with the assent of my father, and the land of Fidoyne, which is my gift, and a knight's fee, which with my consent was given to the Staff of Jesus at Inistyoch: and a knight's fee in Meath, the gift of Hugh de Lacy. . . . .

He also sent to the Royal Irish Academy "to consult the calendar of those Rolls, lately made by Mr. S. Sweetman." His translation or abstract of that portion of the Roll in question (14, Henry III.) is:—"A knight's fee, which by the king's consent was given to the Staff of Jesus at Inistyoch."

If these two translations of the charter be correct, I agree with Mr. Morrin that he is at liberty to assume that the Staff was preserved in Inistioge at some period before Prince John became Earl of Moreton,[1] but not during the reign of Henry III. (1216-71), as he asserts. But are these translations correct? Here I join issue and say they are not. Here is the translation which I hold to be the correct one:—"King Henry, greeting, &c., . . . Know ye that I have granted to John, Archbishop of Dublin, and his successors, all the possessions, etc. (as above. . . . . Also, the land of Kilfechre, in Ossory, which King D.[2] gave him with the assent of my father, and the land of Fidoyne at Inistyoch, which is my gift and the knight's *fee at Inistyoch*, which, with my consent, was given to the Staff of Jesus; and a knight's fee in Meath, the gift of Hugh de Lacey." Thus, according to this translation, it is the *knight's fee*, and not the Staff, that was at *Inistioge* (*apud* Inistyoch).

The *context* too bears out this translation.

The charter enumerates the various grants made to the Archbishop of Dublin and his successors in such manner as that they may be easily identified, just as a landlord giving a lease to a tenant marks out by map or chart, or describes in writing the exact property leased to him—1st, it confirms to him and them all the possessions held by his predecessors; 2nd, it grants them the lands of Kilferagh in Ossory; 3rd, the land of Fidawn at Inistioge; 4th, a knight's fee in Meath, in the gift of Hugh de Lacy; and 5th, the knight's fee at *Inistioge*, which, with Prince John's assent, was previously given to the Staff—that is, to defray the expenses attendant on its guardianship. If the other translations be correct, the charter does not state where this fee was situate; it gives it neither a local habitation nor a name, as it does to

[1] John was created Earl of Moreton by his brother Richard I. in 1189.

[2] This King D. is Donal MacKilpatrick, Lord of Ossory, whose *obit* the Four Masters record under the year A.D. 1185. He is the last prince of Ossory mentioned in the "Book of Leinster." He granted "the lands of Kilfechre in Ossory to St. Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, and a knight's fee in Fiddown to the Staff of Jesus." (Transactions of the R.H.A.A.I., 396, vol. iv., 4th series). This Fidawn is the present Fiddown at Inistioge.

the other grants. If this knight's fee was not at Inistioge where was it? Why is the charter silent as to its whereabouts? We ought to conclude that it is equally definite as to all the grants. The translation which I adopt makes it equally so. The others do not. I may add that the words of the charter "*apud* Inistioge," and "*in* Media," bear out this translation. "Apud Inistyoch" means adjoining Inistioge, or in its immediate neighbourhood or vicinity, yet not *in* Inistioge. The priory was in the midst of Inistioge. If the Staff were preserved anywhere about that town it must be in the priory, which was *in* Inistioge.

Mr. Morrin's two learned friends, Mr. H. C. Hamilton, of the British Museum, and Mr. M'Sweeny, of the R. I. Academy, quite agree with him in his interpretation of the passage in question, and in asserting that I mistake the classical and legal meaning of the word *apud* in the phrase "apud Inistyoch" in Prince John's charter. All three are of one accord in saying that "apud Inistyoch" cannot mean near to or adjoining Inistioge, or in its immediate vicinity, but means simply in Inistioge. And Mr. Morrin further adds that if the writer of the charter meant that the knight's fee[1] was near to or adjoining Inistioge, he would have employed another word, such as *prope* or *juxta*, &c., instead of *apud*. That I have not mistaken either the classical or legal meaning of *apud* is easily proved. First, as to its classical meaning, I have before me Littleton's large classical dictionary, in which I find the four first meanings given for that word are, *at*, *by*, *nigh*, *near*, which, indeed, the very root of the word (*ad pedem*—at the foot of), shows to be its primary meaning; so that if I err in my interpretation of it I err in very good company. As to the meaning of *juxta*, *prope*, and *apud*, in legal Latin: upon looking over the Inquisitions of Leinster, I find these three words to mean *near*, yet with nice distinctions of meaning. *Juxta* means beside a place, as a garden or field beside a road, or a meadow beside a river; while *prope* means near in the sense of not far off. For instance, in an Inquisition held in Kilkenny on the 27th April, 1609, the town of Ballyroe is

[1] *A Knight's Fee* was as much land as sufficed for the decent maintenance of a knight and his retinue. Some estimate it at 480 acres, others at 680, others at 800 acres; but most probably Selden is right in saying it contained no *fixed* quantity of land, but as much as the King granted for the service of one knight. Surely 480 acres in one district might be more valuable than 800 in another. (See P. H. Hore's "Ancient Measures of Land," p. 42). The value of a knight's fee in the reign of Henry III. was £15.

described as being "prope Thomastown." Again, in an Inquisition held in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II., Parksgrove is described as being "prope Ballyragget." Now, Parksgrove is a full mile from Ballyragget; so is Ballyroe from Thomastown, and yet they are in legal Latin said to be near (*prope*) those towns, that is, not far from them, though by no means adjoining them. But *apud* implies proximity of a closer kind. For instance, in an Inquisition held in Kilkenny, 18th April, 1623, among other property of various kinds, Robert Rothe was found seized of a head rent of 6s., derivable from "one messuage apud le corner shop," then in possession of Walter Ryan. Assuredly this messuage or dwelling house was not in the corner shop, but immediately adjoining it, and was thus easily identified, as we may feel assured that Walter Ryan's corner shop was as well known then as Birch's corner shop in our own day. Again, in an Inquisition held at Thomastown, September 9, 1607, we find occurring the actual phrase in dispute, "apud Inistioge"—the real bone of contention. Just let us see whether it means in Inistioge, or in the neighbourhood of that town. In this Inquisition Theobald Viscount Butler was found seized of divers messuages, gardens, lands, tenements, mills, &c., "in Inesteoke," as also of "a certain parcel of land, 'apud Inesteoke,' called Killenleigh, containing 40 acres, bounded by the land of Brownesforde on the east, and by Curraghmore on the south." Here, then, is clear proof that, in legal Latin, "apud Inesteoke" means in the vicinity of Inistioge, but not in it. In this sense these 40 acres were at Inistioge. In the same sense the knight's fee was there also —just as the Hon. Colonel Tighe's demesne is there to-day.

"If 'apud,'" says Mr. McSweeney, "means 'near' it is strange that the editor of the Calendars did not so translate it; and it is natural to expect he would be more conversant with the technical meaning of words in such documents than a mere Latin scholar or pedagogue." I have yet to learn that *apud* is a technical word, or that editors of calendars never make mistakes in translating even such words, or that mere Latin scholars or pedagogues are quite incapable of occasionally setting them right. There is a wise proverb—"People who live in glass houses should not be fond of throwing stones."

Is it not passing strange, while my learned friend professes great admiration for living editors of calendars, that he should hold in such slight esteem the illustrious dead. In the *Kilkenny Journal* (19th Sept., 1877), he writes: "Now, the Charter Roll is the legitimate and

unerring source of all subsequent quotations, and I now, with great respect, offer it as unassailable- Allen's Registry and Archæologist notwithstanding—and I now venture to repeat I am at liberty to assume the Staff was preserved in Inistioge in the reign of Henry III."

The Charter Roll certainly is the unerring source of all subsequent quotations, when rightly translated and understood, but otherwise not. It matters little who Archæologist may be; but who is this Allen who meets with such scant courtesy? He wrote, among other works, a Registry called the "Liber Niger," or Black Book of the Archbishops of Dublin. Yet he was no ordinary registrar or editor of calendars. In fact, he was one of the most learned Catholic Archbishops of Dublin, consecrated in 1528, and in 1534 assassinated at Clontarf by Silken Thomas and his uncles, with a degree of barbarity surpassing any of the Bulgarian atrocities of our own day.[1] He was a successor of that very John Comyn to whom, and to whose successors, John, when Earl of Moreton, granted the knight's fee, which with his father's assent was granted to the Staff. Assuredly "this man of learning and diligent inquirer into antiquities" (to use the learned Protestant Ware's eulogium of him) knew far better 348 years ago where lay the landed property granted from time to time to the very See over which he ruled than the editors of State Calendars can pretend to know in the year of grace 1877. Now, Archbishop Alan (for so himself spelt his name) tells us in his Registry that the knight's fee granted to John Comyn, his predecessor in the See of Dublin, was situate at Inistioge; which knight's fee was the identical one previously granted with Prince John's assent to the Staff of Jesus.[2]

Mr. McSweeney, R.I.A., whose opinion Mr. M. asked, "is glad to see that the original Latin supports Mr. Morrin's original translation." Still he adds very cautiously:—"The fact may be otherwise, but the *onus* of proving from other sources that the Staff was not at Inistioge lies with the party objecting."

This *onus* I willingly assume. I suppose it won't be offensive to presume that Archbishop Alan knew Latin as well as Mr. McSweeney or his learned friends, and yet he translates the charter differently.

[1] Ware's Bishops, p. 348.

[2] In Allen's Registry (fol. 21) it is stated that, in the reign of Richard the First, Prince John Lord of Ireland confirmed to John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, amongst other possessions in Ossory "the knight's fee in Inistioge, which by his consent had been previously given to the staff of Jesus."

And indeed his authority, for the reasons assigned above, ought to settle the matter to the satisfaction of every candid inquirer.

I will further add that to any one who knows the extraordinary veneration in which this Staff was held in Ireland, it will be sufficient proof of its never being preserved at Inistioge, that no one Irish annalist or historian mentions, or breathes a suspicion of its having been ever preserved elsewhere than at Armagh and Dublin. We know beyond any manner of doubt that St. Malachy was translated from the See of Down to the Primatial See of Armagh in 1134; and that Neill, the usurping Bishop of the latter See, carried away with him St. Patrick's Book of the Gospels and Pastoral Staff, and that many of the faithful regarded him as the true successor of St. Patrick, because he held possession of those precious relics. Yet, says Dr. Lanigan (vol. iv., p. 95), "As to Neill, he was soon after obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to give up the reliques, which he had taken away." It is equally certain that about the year 1180 the Staff was carried away from Armagh to Dublin, though as to the very exact year, there is a slight discrepancy amongst our most learned historians. That it was carried away to Dublin about this year, Giraldus Cambrensis, Colgan, Ware, and Lanigan are of one accord.

Lanigan (vol. iv., p. 242,) quoting that most accurate of Irish annalists—Ware – says :—"He (Ware) adds (at A. 1180) that it was placed in the Cathedral of the Blessed Trinity, *where it was preserved* with great care *till* the suppression of the monasteries. And he tells us (ib. at 1538) that it was burned and destroyed in the year 1538"

Now, if the Staff was preserved in Dublin with great care from 1180 till 1538, I respectfully ask how could it be preserved at Inistioge, at any period of the reign of Henry III, from 1216 to 1271?

I think I may now fairly assume that the Staff was never preserved at Inistioge during the lifetime of John or his son, Henry III., or at any period of our chequered history.

But while differing with Mr. Morrin in his interpretation of this charter, I feel, in common with every member of our Society, that we owe him a debt of gratitude for having taken the pains of securing a copy of the original, along with the views entertained regarding it by his two learned antiquarian friends.

To this short paper, as originally published in the *Kilkenny Journal*, I have already added two notes. And as everything connected with

the "Staff of Jesus" must be supremely interesting to Irish Catholics, I here transcribe from Connellan's "Annals of the Four Masters," page 408, a learned note, slightly abridged, containing a short history of that venerable relic:—"*St. Patrick's Crozier*".—This remarkable relic, which was also called St. Patrick's Staff, is frequently mentioned in the lives of St. Patrick, particularly in the Tripartite Life by Colgan in his Trias Thaumaturga, p. 263, and in Lanigan (vol. I., p. 178), and likewise in St. Patrick's Life, by Joceline, the monk, in the twelfth century. Numerous miracles are said to have been wrought by this Staff, which was compared with the rod of Moses. St. Patrick is said to have received it from a hermit, who resided in an island of the Etruscan Sea, supposed to have been Lerins, near Antibes, off the coast of France, where there was a celebrated monastery in ancient times, in which St. Patrick studied some years. According to Jocelin, the name of the hermit was Justus, and he had brought the Staff from the Holy Land, and it was said to have been possessed by our Saviour, hence called in Irish *Bachall Iosa*, latinised *Baculus Jesu*, signifying the Staff of Jesus. By the Irish writers it was generally called *Bachall Phadraig*, that is, the Staff of Patrick; the word *Bachall* in Irish signifying a staff, like the Latin *Baculus*; hence *Bachall*, or *Bachall Easpuic*, that is, a Bishop's Staff, was the term applied to a crozier; therefore by Patrick's Staff was meant his crozier. This Staff is frequently mentioned by the Irish annalists. In the Annals of the Four Masters (A.D, 784) it is mentioned in a passage thus translated by Dr. O'Connor: "A sacrilegious carrying off of the Staff of Jesus, and the relics of St. Patrick, by Donogh, the son of Donald, at the eastern rath, called Rath Airthir, at the fair or assembly." At A.D. 1027, it is thus mentioned in the Annals of Tigearnach, "the Staff of Jesus was sacrilegiously carried off, together with three horses; and the man who dared sacrilegiously to do that deed was slain before nine days"

At A.D. 1180, A.F.M., mention is again made of this relic, where it is stated that a hostile force was led by Turlogh O'Brien, King of Thomond, to Dublin and Meath, when Malachy, King of Meath, came into his camp with the Staff of Jesus, accompanied by the successor of St. Patrick and the clergy of Munster. Again, in the same Annals, at 1143, it is mentioned that Muiredach O'Duffy, Archbishop of Tuam, the lords and chiefs of Connaught, the successor of St. Patrick, having

the Staff of Jesus with him, the Coarb of St. Feichin, with the bell of St. Feichin, together with the *Bo-ban* of St. Kevin, were all as pledges of a peace between Turlogh O'Connor, King of Connaught, and Murtogh O'McLaghlin, King of Meath.

"St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, thus speaks of the Staff: "Nigell, however, seeing that his flight was impending, took with him certain celebrated things belonging to the See (Armagh), namely, the Book of the Gospels, which had belonged to St. Patrick, and a Staff, covered with gold, and adorned with most precious gems, which they named the Staff of Jesus, because the Lord himself (as the opinion is) held it in his own hands and formed it; and these were held in the highest honour and veneration in that nation. For these things were most remarkable and celebrated amongst the people, and held in such veneration by all that whoever was seen to possess them, the foolish and silly people (populus stultus et insipiens) considered him to be the real bishop."

Colgan, in his Trias Thaumaturga, p. 6, tells us that "Tassach was the worker in metals of St. Patrick, and was the first who ornamented the Staff of Jesus with a precious covering; his church is Rath-Colptha, near Downpatrick, to the east." This St. Tassach lived in the fifth century, and is mentioned in the lives of St. Patrick as skilled in the working of metals, and in the art of the goldsmith. In the year 1180, according to the Annals of Inisfallen, the *Bachall Phadraig* was removed from Armagh to Dublin by William Fitz Adelm.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in the 12th century,[1] thus mentions this relic:—"Amongst all the croziers in Ireland, and relics of saints made of wood, that potent and famous one, which they call the Staff of Jesus, not undeservedly seems to be the prime and chief, by which in the common opinion St. Patrick banished poisonous reptiles from the island. The origin of it is indeed as uncertain as its virtue is certain. But in our times, and by the assistance of our people, this noble treasure was translated from Armagh to Dublin."

Ware, in his annals of Henry VIII., tells us that in 1538, "the image of Christ crucified, in the abbey of Ballibogan, and St. Patrick's Staff, in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, at Dublin, which William, the son of Adelm, brought from Armagh, and gave as a gift

[1] Cambrensis paid a short visit to Ireland in 1183. Again he visited Ireland, April, 1185, and remained here till Easter, 1186.

to that church in the year 1180, underwent a like fate"—that is, were committed to the flames.

Thus far the annotator of Connellan's "Four Masters." We have seen above, at 1143, certain princes and bishops, &c., assembled to establish a lasting peace between the Kings of Connaught and Meath, and, in order to do so with all possible solemnity, the successor of St. Patrick carried with him the Staff of Jesus, and the successor of St. Feichin the bell of St. Feichin. Mr. Hogan, in his "Life of St. Ciaran," (p. 16), quotes a passage from the Chronicum Scotorum, at the year 1041, which shows how the very bell which St. Patrick gave St. Kieran, and the Staff of Jesus, were employed on another memorable occasion:

"The community of St. Ciaran fasted at Tula Garbha against Aedh Ua Confiacla, dynast of Teabhtha, and the *Barnan Ciarain* was rung against him there with the end of the *Bachal-Isa*; and the place moreover where he turned his back upon the clergy. In that same place his head was cut off before the end of a month by the men of Medhe" (Meath).

Upon which passage Mr. Hogan thus comments:—"The Bachal Isa had been St. Patrick's Crozier, which on this occasion was brought from Armagh to Meath, that, by tolling with it St. Ciaran's bell, the excommunication then pronounced against Aedh or Hugh O'Confiacla might be more solemn and imposing."

Lanigan (vol. iv., p. 241-2,) maintains the Staff could not have been carried away from Armagh till the year 1184, for the very good reason that till then, as he alleges, none of the foreign adventurers had entered that city. In that year, however, Philip de Worcester entered Armagh with a great army, and extorted much money from the clergy. In the April of the following year (1185), Prince John landed at Waterford.[1] And, as we may be quite certain there was just then an outcry among the Irish princes and people at "the sacrilegious carrying away of the Staff," we need not be surprised that John, in order to appease the Irish, assented to the grant of the knight's fee at Inistioge, for its decent maintenance, which knight's fee, immoral and unprincipled scoundrel that he was, he afterwards, when Earl of Moreton, took away from the Staff, and gave, along with other possessions in Ossory and Meath, to his friend, John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin. Why Prince John was so generous to this Archbishop is very intelligible. John

[1] Lanigan, iv., 267.

Comyn was a great favourite of Prince John's father, Henry II., who sent him over to Ireland, Sept., 1184, to prepare the way for John's arrival; and a difficult task it must have been, for, during the few months John spent in Ireland (April, 1185, to Dec., 1185,) he and his courtiers so outraged Celt and Saxon alike that a general insurrection was the result of his first visit to his lordship of Ireland.

We have seen above (note 2, p. 265) that Donal or Domhnal MacGilla Phadraig, who died in 1185, granted the knight's fee in Fiddawn to St. Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, for the maintenance of the Staff. From this fact I think, we may safely infer, that when this grant was made, the staff must have been in Dublin. Had it been in Armagh at that time, the grant would have been given to the Archbishop of Armagh. And as St. Laurence O'Toole died November 14, A.D. 1180, we may further infer that the Staff was removed to Dublin some time before that date. This shows that the date assigned by Lanigan (1184) for the removal of the Staff cannot be correct.

We need not wonder at the Fitzpatricks of Ossory showing their veneration for the crozier of St. Patrick, when we reflect that their very name Gilla means the "Servant of Patrick," a name which that family assumed in order to place them and theirs under the patronage of the Apostle of Ireland.

TRANSCRIPTS FROM THE MONUMENTS IN CALLAN CHURCH.

BY MR. THOMAS SHELLY.

"That it may be a sign among you; and when your children shall ask you to-morrow, saying—What mean these stones? you shall answer them.—Josue iv., 6 and 7.

So much having been done for the preservation of ancient monumental remains in various other parts of this county, I am induced to believe it will not be considered out of place to supply some notice of the monuments still to be found in and around the ruins of the "Church of the Blessed Mary at Callan," and to append such notes and traditions as I have had means of collecting relative to the families to whom the monuments originally belonged. Besides those which are contained in the following pages, a great many remain still unnoticed, which, I regret to say, have baffled my endeavour to decipher them. One of

those is the flag on which the baptismal font of the church is set, and which is a fragment of considerable size, having part of an inscription in incised letters elegantly finished. There are some with only a few disconnected words and letters to be seen on them, while others, having been trodden upon for centuries, have at last been completely defaced. Scattered around also are several "coffin-shaped" slabs, and a few effigies sculptured in high relief. One of these slabs has a cross raised on it of a pattern similar to those which are said to date from the fourteenth century. The effigies are all of about two feet in height, and evidently have originally been the supports of the covering flags of table-shaped monuments that have long since disappeared. Those flags and sculptured figures are now but the memorials of him,

"Whose name on earth no longer known,
Hath mouldered with the mouldering stone."

for not one contains a single letter or device to tell us a word of their former owners.

No. I.—Hic jacet dominus Rothe quondam vicarius de Callan qui obiit anno domi', MCCCCXXVI. . . . . die mensis Octobris cujus ae' . . . . . .

Here lies Master . . . . Rothe, formerly Vicar of Callan, who died in the year of our Lord 1428 . . . . day of October, on whose (soul may God have mercy).

This is a floor slab, very much broken and defaced, lying near the second pillar of the nave or centre aisle. It is the oldest inscribed stone as yet discovered among the ruins.

No. II.—Hic jacet discretus . . . obiit . . . MCCCCXLII., pro cujus animæ omnibus Pater et Ave decertibus CLX. indulgenci

Here lies that discreet man. . . . who died. . . . . 1442. . . . 160 days indulgence is granted to all who shall say a Pater and Ave for his soul.

This stone lies near the church door. The inscription, in raised old English characters, runs round the edge. The flag is broken in several parts, and the lettering much defaced. There is an ornamental cross in the centre, and to the right of the cross is a shield, having sculptured on it a chevron, engrailed, between three roses, showing the monument to have belonged to the family of Le Blund, a name connected with Callan at an early period. Shortly after the time of the date on this stone the name was changed to that of White, which signifies the

same as the Norman-French Le Blund. The monuments of the Whites in St. Mary's Church, Clonmel, with dates of the early part of the following century, have the same arms as those on this stone.

The Whites are said to have resided at Whitesland, within two miles of the town, where some old walls are pointed out as the remains of their castle; and also for some time at Westcourt, which in some old documents is mentioned as "*alias* Whitescourt."

Adam Le Blund, banker, of Callan, was the second husband of the celebrated Kilkenny witch, Dame Alice Kettyl, and, as appears from various entries in close and patent Rolls in Chancery, he and his son-in-law, William Outlawe, appeared to have acted on an extensive scale as lenders of money to the Crown and nobility and gentry of Ireland. In the year 1302 William Outlawe made a complaint to the Crown that the sheriff had forcibly entered his house at night with an armed retinue, and, having dug therein, discovered and carried away the sum of £3,000, which he had hidden under ground for Adam Le Blund, of Callan, and his wife Alice, in trust for them. The name of the witch's husband was De Valle, and it is not improbable that he was also of Callan. The name is discernable as part of the inscription on a monument, evidently of a very remote date, which forms part of the floor of the church.

Nicholas White, Rector of Callan, about the end of the fifteenth century.

No. 3. . . . jacet discretus Vir Joh'nes Tobyn, Rector hujus Eccle' fu' dator de chantere nove qui
cujus aiabs' pptr' deus amê' Totus no'
jaces qo lapis iste jacet.

This badly used and now dilapidated monument lies on the floor of the centre aisle, or nave, next the gable wall of the choir, to the left side of the church door. It is broken into several pieces. The inscription was cut around the border, and also continued on two bands at the side of the shaft of a floriated cross, decorating the centre. The lettering on that part near the wall being the more protected, is still fairly legible, but that on the outer edge and on the bands is nearly obliterated, and is now difficult to copy with any certainty of correctness. Disjointed as I am reluctantly compelled to produce it, I have attempted no translation of it; but in the hands of an expert the whole inscription would probably be brought to light. The date is not traceable, but it

is highly probable it is the monument of Master John Tobyn, Rector of Callan, who in the year 1516 gave testimony regarding the legitimacy of Piers Butler, before Oliver, Bishop of Ossory. However, what remains of it is sufficient to inform us that he was rector of the church and the founder of a new chantry in it, and the whole of him does not lie where the stone lies, which I take to refer to the separation of the soul from the body.

In Lewis's Topographical Dictionary this chantry is alluded to in the following quotation :—

"In the ante chapel of Callan was a shrine, under the invocation of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and St. Catherine, for the purpose of saying Mass for the repose of the noble family of Desart. This foundation still exists as a chaplaincy in the gifts of the Earls of Desart. It had no cure of souls, but the chaplain is required to attend visitations."

This is partly incorrect, inasmuch as the Earls of Desart have always been Protestants.

On the 4th of August, 1789, the Rev. Henry Hamilton Cuffe, A.M. (a member of the Desart family), was appointed to this chaplaincy, which was then called the chantry of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of St. Catherine, Callan.

A chaplain, who, as mere matter of form, paid one annual visit, was appointed to fill the office up to a very recent period. The last person so appointed was, I believe, the Rev. Nicholas Herbert, then Rector of Knockgraffan, near Cahir.

Some time since (before the discovery of this stone) some queries regarding the history of the chantry were submitted to the Rev. Dr. Graves, who stated he did not know the date of the foundation, but said an endowment property belonged to it, and that there was a list of former holders of it among the Marquis of Ormonde's papers.

From what information we now have of it, it would appear there was attached to this church a chapel of St. Catherine, in which there was a shrine of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, where the Mass was to be offered up for the repose of the soul of the founder, and that there was belonging to it an endowment for the purpose, chargeable on the lands, which subsequently came to be part of the Desart estates ; and in this way the appointment came to be continued by the Desart family.

About one mile from Callan is a townland called Castletobin, now part of the estate of the Earl of Desart, where, below the surface of a field to the left side of the road, the foundation walls of a castle are still to be traced, and which is said to have once been a residence of a branch of the Tobyn family.

No. 4.—Hic jacet discretus vir dom . . . . Thome Butler, come de Ormonie.

The monument represented by the preceding figure (engraving of figure given in the copy) exists as a headstone over a solitary grave outside the western gable of the northern aisle, the part of it shown here as darkened being below the surface; about one-fourth of it has been broken off and lost. The missing portion contained the upper part of the cross, the date, and, perhaps, some continuation of the inscription. From the unusual arrangement of the inscription, it is likely this was at first the covering-flag of a table-shaped monument, placed in an angle of the church, and had the letters cut thus, all from left to right, in order to enable it to be read with the more facility from one particular direction.

The name on this stone is most probably that of Thomas, the seventh Earl of Ormonde. He was one of those included in the attainder levied against the whole Ormonde family after the battle of Towton, in 1461, in which battle his brother James was taken prisoner by the victorious Yorkists, and beheaded at Newcastle. John succeeded his brother, who was beheaded, having been pardoned by Edward IV. The attainder having been fully revoked by Henry VII. (first parliament), and John having died in the Holy Land, Thomas succeeded to the title as seventh Earl. But in the meantime the king had reversed the attainder as against John Fitz-Edmund Butler, and in consideration of services rendered by him in Ireland to the Crown, granted to him, in 1648, out of the forfeited Ormonde possessions, then in the hands of the King, the manor of Callan, where James and his son resided for some years, until, on the death of Thomas in 1585, leaving no male heir, the titles and honours devolved on his kinsman, Piers, of Callan, who, on becoming eighth Earl, left Callan, and went to reside at the Castle of Kilkenny, the family residence. One of the daughters of Earl Thomas was married to Sir William Boleyn, whose son Thomas was father of Anne Boleyn, the mother of Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas, the seventh Earl, was buried in St. Thomas's Church,

London. In all probability this stone marked the grave of his chaplain.

No. 5. . . . . Philippus throddy quondam judex ac notarius ville Callaniæ qui obiit xv. die februraii, A.D. MVd. IX.

(Here lies) Philip Troy, formerly magistrate and court notary of the town of Callan, who died on the 15th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1519.

This flag is near the church door to the right side.

No. 6.—Jacent jacobus throddy quo' da' burge'sis Ville Callaniæ, who died . . . . A.D. . . . . Cath . . . uxor ejus eor' aiab' ppt' des' . . . . .

(Here lie) James Troy, formerly burgess of the town of Callan, who died . . . . . in the year of the Lord 15 . . . . and Catherine. . . . . his wife on whose souls may the Lord have mercy.

This monument is part of flooring of the church, and is near the baptismal font. The centre is ornamented with a cross of beautiful design. To the right of the stem or shaft of the cross is a shield bearing the "chief indented" of the arms of Ormonde ; and to the left is a rare pattern of the sacred monogram. Bands, originally inscribed, run along at each side of the cross, but the letters are now utterly defaced and illegible.

The head of this stone was chiselled away to make it fit into its place as part of the flagging, and the corner containing the ending letters of the date was taken out to admit the fitting in an angle of an adjoining Kellymount flag.

The family to whom these monuments belonged were formerly of note in this county, and ranked with the most influential of the gentry.

William Throddye, of Callan, is named amongst those who formed the "Jury of the Commissioners of the County of Kilkenny" in 1537.

In an Inquisition held at the Black Abbey in 1631 a deed is recited, in which are mentioned the names of "Edward St. Ledger, Nicholas Sweetman, Patrick Coppinger, and William Troddy."

Probably Troy's Wood and Troy's Gate, Kilkenny, have their names from some members of this family.

No. 7.— . . . . . ietas vir Thomae Grace quondâ Rector de Callan qui obiit xvi., Die Mensis Januarii, 1583 . . . . . ppcietur Des Amen. Wat Kerin.

(Here lies) that man of piety, Thomas Grace, formerly Rector of

Callan, who died on the 16th day of January, 1583, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen.

This is a floor slab in the aisle. There is a raised cross in the centre, at one side of which is sculptured the "Lion Rampant" of the arms of the Graces, Barons of Courtstown.

This is pointed out as the monument of the first Protestant Rector of Callan, yet, it is very remarkable, the usual Catholic prayer for the soul departed is found on it.

"Wat Kerin" is, no doubt, the name of the mason or sculptor. There appears to have been a rather noted family of sculptors of same name about this period. The monuments of Peter Bolger in Saint Canice's; of Donald Archdeacon, *alias* Cody, and his wife, in the Church of Dungarvan; Meyler McGrath in the Rock of Cashel, and of John Sweetman, Baron of Erley, in Newtown Old Church, were all made by some one of this name.

In 1559 David Rothe, James Sweetman, and Thomas Grace, Parson of Callan, were appointed to give judgment concerning certain boundaries in dispute between the Sovereign and Burgesses of Callan on the one part, and Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, and Patrick Sherlocke, his tenant or farmer, on the other part, touching the mears that of old leadeth between the Burgagery of Callan and the lands of Cowlaghmore.

No. 8.—Hic jacet Henricus . . . . bran quondam Burgensis ville Callaniae qui obiit xxi., Jun., 1586.

No. 9—Hic jacet Margarette Ffors . . . . . obiit 1601.

Here lies Margaret Forristal, who died . . . . 1601.

The upper portion of a monument of the Forristal family.

The Fforstals or Forristals were numbered amongst the principal gentry of this county in the reign of Elizabeth. The head of the house was owner of the Manors of Kilfera and Ballyfrunk. They are also mentioned in "Brewer's Beauties of Ireland" as having possessed castles at Callan.

The name William Forristal occurs in a list of gentlemen to whom pardons were granted in 1602.

No. 10.—Hic Jacet Eruditus et Egregius vir Edmundus Filius Theobaldi Butler, quondam secundus Justiciarius capitalis, Place Dominæ Reginæ in Regno suo Hibernia, obiit prima die mensis, Januaris A "Gra'," 1587. Et Post ejus decessum Rosa Archer ejus uxor Hanc capellam et Hunc Tumulum, Fieri Fecit.

Here lies that learned and estimable man Edmond, son of Theobald Butler, at one time Second Justice of the Chief Place in the Court of our Lady the Queen, in her Kingdom of Ireland, who died on the first day of January, in the year of grace 1587. And after his death his wife, Rose Archer, ordered this chapel and this tomb should be erected.

This stone now lies on the ground near the side wall of the mortuary chapel of the Butlers, now the vestry of the church. It is broken into several pieces. The letters are in the usual old English character. The centre is ornamented with an interlaced cross of a light and beautiful pattern. At one side of the cross are the initial letters E.R., and at the other side B.A. The latter are capitals, most curiously interlaced.

The chapel has served for many years as the vestry, and previously was the school-room, for which purpose it was fitted up about fifty years ago. Before that time it was roofless and covered with ivy, as is shown in the drawing of the church taken by Mr. Robertson in 1800. While it then underwent repairs the monuments it contained were taken up and scattered. A tradesman of the town named John Butler, who traced his descent from the founders, appropriated this stone and placed it over the graves of his own family, where it now lies. This man, better remembered here as "John Butler, the Skinner," was in possession of family parchments, on the strength of which he became a claimant for estates in this locality. A brief of his case was submitted to O'Connell, who said he had no doubt John was the rightful heir, but at the same time pointed out where he would fail in establishing it legally. Notwithstanding the adverse opinion of O'Connell, John prosecuted his suit. At first it looked most hopeful for him; and at this time he stated his adversaries had offered him a large sum to withdraw, which, unfortunately for himself, he refused; for, although he actually got possession of some townlands and farms, and witnessed bonfires and rejoicings for his temporary success, he was ultimately defeated, and reduced to extreme poverty.

The Skinner's papers set forth his descent in the direct line from Thomas Butler, who, from his inveterate drinking habits, was styled "Thamaus a Thortha"—Thomas the thirsty. During his time, as John alleged, through his incapacity to manage his own affairs, and his total indifference to them, his property passed to a relative, to the exclusion

of John's grandfather, who was next heir male. John was urged on to the law-suit chiefly by one of his kinsmen, named Ambrose Brien, who spent all his means in John's cause. Ambrose subsequently lived in the employment of Mr. Kenny Scott, of the Ormonde Mills, Kilkenny, and, after the death of Mr. Scott, died in Kilkenny in reduced circumstances.

No. 11.—Hic Jacent Nicholaus Comerford . . . . obiit 25 Mensis Julius 1597.

Here lie Nicholas Comerford, who died the 25th of July, 1597.

This is but the upper portion of the original stone. As the inscription sets out in the plural number it is most likely the remainder contains the name of his wife.

No. 12.—Hic Jacet Geraldus Comerford armiger quondam regius Athurnaius Conacæ et Thomondiæ secundarius Barro Scaccari et demum Capitalis Justiciarius predicto Momonia, excessit e vivis apud Cowlnamukie in committatu Waterfordiæ, 4 Novemb., 1604, felice gubernio Illustressimi Domini Regis Jacobi Secundo et Scoticæ tricessimo Septimo.

Here lies the celebrated man, Gerald Comerford, Esquire, who was King's Attorney of Connaught and Thomond, second Baron of the Exchequer, and finally was appointed Chief Justice of Munster. His life departed at Coolnamuck, in the county of Waterford, on the 4th November, 1604, in the second year of the happy government of our illustrious Lord King James, and the seven-and-thirtieth of his reign in Scotland.

The foregoing is an inscription on a table or altar monument against the wall in the northern aisle. The emblems of the passion and crucifixion of our Lord are displayed on the front panel. The flag supporting the head has a shield sculptured in high relief, viz.: *per*, pale; *dexter*, a bugle horn garnished, between three mullets; *sinister*, a chevron between three arrow heads. The end panel has been displaced, but lies on the ground adjacent. The arms on this are—Quarterly: 1st and 4th a pile between two others reversed; 2nd, 3rd, a cross *flore* between three swans.

Gerald, or Garret, Comerford, whose memory is here commemorated, seems to have been in high favour with the Crown.

"The Queen directed a pension of twenty pound a year to be paid to Gerald Comerford, who had gone to study the law for his help, he

being a younger brother and destitute of maintenance, in consequence of infirmities grown upon him in his limbs, Her Majesty gave him permission to return to his own country for recovery of his health, A D. 1558."

The Lords of the Council, by command of the Queen, directed the Lord Deputy to confirm for his life Gerald Comerford in his office of her Majesty's Attorney for Connaught and Thomond (si tam se bene gesserit), together with a fee of twenty pounds, and all other profits and commodities appertaining thereto. 12th September, 1591.

No. 13.—Fortunate lapis dives qui fuere' Thomæ ossa Sepulchrali condita mole tegis Callaniæ flore' cœca complecteris urna. No' tam' hic verno flos novat imbre decus Majorem gen' huic clar' dedit Anglia nomen. Haud usquam clausæ posthuma fama dom vive polo cui vita solo est nece decedit omnis Pompa Soli Soli vivere disce Deo. 1629.

O! fortunate stone, which, enriched by the death of Thomas, do'st cover his bones in the Sepulchral mound. Thou do'st hold the flower of Callan in thy gloomy urn, yet this flower does not renew its beauty by vernal shower; England, the country of his ancestors, gave to him an illustrious name. The glory of a house that was never closed still survives. Live for Heaven where alone life is!

At death all the glory of the world fades. Learn to live for God alone! 1629.

This once elegant, though now sadly damaged monument, is placed high on the wall of the gable on the southern side, between the window and the church door. Being the only mural monument outside the church, it is conspicuous, and is generally the first which attracts the attention of visitors to the place. The inscription, in old English characters, runs along a framed oblong panel, leaving a space unlettered at each end, on which is cut a representation of a rose-bush in flower. This panel supports a handsome shield, bearing the following arms, viz.: *per*, pale; *dexter*, first and fourth, a talbot *passant*; second and third, five mullets on a cross engrailed; *sinister*, three swords—two in *saltier*, pointing downwards; one in *pale*, pointed upwards. There are two crests; first, on an esquire's helmet, from a coronet a peacock's head *issuant*; the second, a swan over a helmet. Each crest has a separate motto on a scroll curving backward over each. The first is, "Virtus venusta;" the second, "Vincit veritas." On a scroll beneath the shield is that of So. Hou. Hoo. Den. A

deeply cut mantling descends from the helmets at each side, and terminates in large tassels. On a pinnacle surmounting the whole, the sacred monogram is cut in relief. Beneath the panel on which the inscription is cut, there was formerly another of which the frame alone now remains.

The family to whom the three foregoing monuments belonged, traced descent from Sir Fulco de Comerford, who brought twenty men-at-arms and four knights of his own kindred to aid William of Normandy in his invasion of England, in the year 1066. Sir Fulco received grants of several lordships from William the Conqueror; and from him descended De Comerford, of the county of Stafford, whose younger brother, Sir Henry, and his nephew, Sir Fulco, came to Ireland in the train of Prince John, son of King Henry II., in 1189. Fulco returned to England with the Earl of Mortaigne; but Sir Henry remained in Ireland, and, marrying a sister of the powerful Hugo de Lacy, Governor of Ireland, became possessed of considerable property, and was ancestor of the Irish Comerfords. In an MS. quoted by Blake Foster, he has been described as "Ane gudely Knyght and ancesture of ye Comerfords, Barons of Dangeanmore."

The chief branch of the family resided at Danganmore; but the Comerfords of Ballybur, Inchoolahan, Callan and Ballymack, were conspicuous amongst the gentry of Kilkenny county in olden times. They acquired large possessions in the baronies of Kells, Shillelogher, and Knocktopher, in this county; as they also did in the county of Waterford, all of which they lost by the confiscations which followed the two revolutions of the seventeenth century.

The last Comerford, Danganmore, lost his estate during the Commonwealth, when Derryleagh, now Castlemorris, was granted by Oliver Cromwell to one of his officers, named Matthew Westmoreland, by whom it was afterwards sold to Hervey Morris, son of Sir Redmond Morris, of Knocagh, county Tipperary, of whom the present proprietor, De Montmorency, is a descendant in the female line.

At the time of the confiscations the Danganmore portion of the property was settled by marriage on Catherine Comerford, who was married to a gentleman named Ryan, of Silvermines, Co. Tipperary, who had lost his own estates in the wars.

A female descendant of this Ryan was mother of Captain H. F. Langton, lately sheriff of the county, who is the present owner of

Danganmore, for which he pays a small chiefry to the Marquis of Ormonde, as lord of the soil.

The last representative in Ireland, of the Danganmore branch of the family, was Joseph Comerford, who shortly after he had been deprived of his Irish estates, retired to France, where he purchased the Marquisate of Anglure, with a good estate upon the river Aule, in Champaigne, which he settled, in default of male issue of his own, upon his brother, Captain Luke Comerford, an officer in the French service, and his heirs male; and, in default of such issue, on his kinsman, Sir John Comerford, a major-general, and colonel of an infantry regiment in the Spanish army, and on his heirs male.

The Callan branch of this family appears to have supplied, for some generations, the deputies or agents who managed the Irish estates of the Ormondes in the absence of the Earls; and from this branch also the family lawyer of the House of Ormonde was selected on several important occasions.

In the Charter of King James to the town of Callan, there are mentioned five Comerfords in the list of the twenty-four Burgesses therein named.

In 1569, during Desmond's rebellion, "Old Fulco Comerford, of Callan, was robbed of £2,000 in money, besides plate, household stuff, corn and cattle."

A silver mace, the property of the Town Commissioners of Callan, has rudely indented on it the initials "E. C.,* so 1632." He was one of the subscribing witnesses of the demise of the relic of the True Cross by Walter Earl of Ormonde, in 1632.

Edward Comerford, of Callan, sat as member of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics in 1646.

A tradition, transmitted in Irish, tells of three ladies of this family (who in the story are termed "The Shaughrauns") who supplied to a certain Bishop, the funds which defrayed the cost of building the three aisles of the church; as the nave and side aisles are here commonly called. It states the ladies gave equal shares of their fortunes for this purpose, stipulating that each should have a distinct portion erected on her behalf; and to this cause is attributed the form of the structure of this portion of the building, which is peculiar almost to itself. The three aisles were of equal size and height, and had each a separate roof, and there was no clerestory

or no transept; the choir being a continuation of the centre aisle or nave. The side aisles were only half the length of the whole building and had gables with large windows at each end.

This tradition, though dim and uncertain, like many others, should not be set aside as altogether unreliable or unworthy of notice.

Several authorities give Bishop Mapilton as the founder here of this Church of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine; and while we know that at this time the Bishop was expending large sums on his own Cathedral, it will not seem unlikely that the funds contributed to build a church at Callan, should be supplied by some family or individual of importance in the locality.

Now, all the surroundings of the old church and the place, so far as is known, point to the Comerfords as the most likely to have been interested in its erection, and lead to a reasonable conjecture that some member or members of their family gave the means for it—perhaps given by the three maiden ladies of the tradition.

This seems to have been considered by the Comerfords as their family church; and for long lapse of years the several branches of the family of this county, as well as of the county of Waterford, claimed, and had right of interment allowed them in it. As a further inducement to a belief in their connection with the original erection of the church we find the "talbot" of the Comerford arms conspicuous in the grotesque ornamentation of one of the large entrance door-ways.

Hic jacet Jacobus Neales Burgensis et Superior Callaniæ qui hoc monumentum Parentibus sibi ac posteris fieri fecit 10 die Januarii, A.D. 1624. Uxor ipsius prima Johanna Brinne, obiit 2d Febru, A.D. 1596. 2dda uxor, Egidia Tobyn, obiit die. J.N. obiit, 1640.

Here lies James Neales, Sovereign and Burgess of Callan, who caused this monument to be made for his parents, for himself, and for his posterity, the 10th day of January, in the year of the Lord 1624. His first wife Johanna Brinne (Byrne?) died on the 2nd February, Anno Dom., 1596. His second wife Judith Tobyn, died . . . J. N. died 1640.

This is an altar or table-shaped monument, built against the side wall of the southern aisle, under the second window. The front panel has disappeared. The head is supported by a fragment of another monument; but the original, bearing the arms of the Passion of Our Lord, lies underneath the covering flag. The support at the end is a

flag, deeply cut, bearing a shield, viz.:—Quartering: First, a hand, *sinister*; 2nd, two nettle leaves; 3rd, one of same; and the fourth quartering either has never been sculptured, or is now totally defaced. It may be inferred that the second wife outlived her husband, and that at her own death there was no one who took the trouble to record it, as the space left blank to receive the date of her death was never filled up.

I have not discovered that the tenant of this monument had any family or property connexion with Callan beyond what is recorded on this stone, Robert Neales was Sovereign of Fethard, in 1559.

Thomas Neyll was "Lord of the greater part of Carrick," towards the middle of the 15th century. Midway between Callan and Carrick, there is a parish called Ballyneale, in which district the name is quite a common one.

Here lyeth the body of Mr. Henry Baker, who dyed the 9th of July, 1699.

This inscription is in Roman capitals and, with one exception, is the earliest English written stone in the place; the exception is a part of a large flag bearing the names of Ann and Philip Comerford, in English, but with the letters sculptured in the old text characters. Henry Baker was, I am informed, the first of the Bakers of Kilcoran; and who, during the Commonwealth, got possession of Newtown de Erley, Kilcoran, Hyrath, Castle-Eve, &c., the recently-forfeited property of the Sweetman family, Barons de Erley.

Here lies the body of Edmd. Croke, who departed this life, Jany. 6th, 1734.

A family of this name held lands in the "Manor of Callane by Knight's service" in 1537.

Here lies Molly or Mary Croke, who departed this life 17th Nov., 1838, aged 76 years.

An eccentric old gentleman named Lloyd erected this stone over the grave of Mary Croke, a servant to Miss Ellen Hearne, who lived at the bridge, from whom Mr. Lloyd had rooms rented as furnished lodgings. This gentleman was of good family and had ample means. He was called Captain, but was best known as "Cracked Lloyd." Though he lived chiefly indoors, yet he kept two serving men, whom he occasionally exercised in military drill, but who did little other work for him In Mr. Lloyd the publishers had a great friend, for he

subscribed for a great number of magazines and papers, none of which he ever read a line of, but kept them safely stowed away in large heaps, with their original wrappers unopened. His pranks inside occasionally collected a crowd of idlers to peer into his windows, at whom he generally ordered his men to "fire a volley," their ammunition being sods of turf, of which missile he kept a large stock at hand, in a room upstairs, to be used solely for this purpose.

This was placed here by John Galwey, Esq., of Westcourt, to the memory of Thomas Newbold, who lies buried underneath, who served his said master faithfully, honestly, and affectionately above 40 years' and who died February, 1777, aged 59 years.

The family of Galwey were of Lota, in the County Cork, and were the next occupiers of Westcourt after the Butlers. While they held it a parade, or review, of the volunteers, was held on the lawn.

Here lies the body of Mrs. Eleanor Conny, who died 23rd March, 1784, aged 77 years. May her soul rest in peace. Amen.

This is the monument of one of the last members of a family, formerly extensive merchants and traders in Callan.

During the penal times "James Duigan and Thomas Conny, merchants of Callan," were the sureties to the Crown in £50 each at the ordination of the Rev. Peter Corcoran in 1704.

Here lies the body of John Tearney of Westcourt, who parted this life, 14th March, aged 60 years.

Also his children, Thomas, Mary, and Margaret Tearney. Erected by his wife, Margaret Tearney, and William Tearney, his son, A.D. 1777.

The stone which has the foregoing oddly-worded inscription lies near the southern gable of the Butler mortuary chapel.

It is the humble monument of the grand parents and maternal relations of that great benefactor of his country, Edmund Rice, the founder in Ireland of the Society of the Christian Brothers, whose schools at present afford the blessings of education to over 27,000 of the youth of Ireland.

The original place of this flag was where now stands a handsome monument, surmounted by a Celtic cross, erected by Mrs. Catherine Rice, *alias* Cross, of Westcourt, to the memory of her husband John Rice, and her only son, Richard, who were the last male representatives of their family.

At the interment of John Rice, the churchwardens objected to have a grave opened for him in his own burial ground, which was close

to the church walls, and within the limits prescribed by the act regulating interments near churches. His friends then buried him in the place belonging to his maternal ancestors; and to make room there for the new monument to John Rice that of John Tearney was removed from its original position, and brought to its present place, over the graves of the Rices of Westcourt.

Here lie interred the remains of Laurence Smith, of Ballywalter, who died on the third of November, 1749, aged 62 years; of Valentine Smyth, Esq., eldest son, who died on the 4th April, 1802, aged 84 years; of the sons of Laurence, who died on the 30th of January, 1812, aged 69 years; Francis, who died 31st Oct., aged 62 years; William, who died on the 18th of May, 1812, aged 60 years; of Valentine Laurence Smyth, Esq., the eldest son of Laurence, who died on the 9th January, 1813, aged 44 years, and of Val. Francis Smyth, only son of Francis, who died on the 16th of April, 1811, aged 36 years.

In pious respect and affection to their memory, this monument has been erected on the first day of March, 1814, by Edmond Smyth, of Callan, son of Laurence, now the only surviving male descendant of the family.

Requiescant in pace.

The family of Smyth, to whom the above monument belonged, came originally from Long-Ashen, near Bristol, and at an early period became owners of the Manor of Damagh, near Ballycallan, in this county. A notice of their early settlement at Damagh, and inscriptions copied from ancient monuments of the family, are to be seen in "the History and Antiquities of Ballycallan," an interesting little work written by the Rev. James Holohan, C.C.

In a communication of George Lewis Smyth of Parliament-street, London, written to the Kilkenny Archæological Society, in 1853, the following subsequent account of them has been given:

"Valentine Smyth, of Damagh, stood high in trust and favour with the Duke of Ormonde. His heirs possessed Damagh until a younger son, taking advantage of the penal laws, wrested the estate from his elder brother by becoming a Protestant.

"But the person so dispossessed of his inheritance did not cease to be trusted and employed by the House of Ormonde. He took up his abode at Carrick-on-Suir, occupying a house (Galwey's Castle),

rented from a patron of his family, and enjoying some townlands on their adjoining estates. As soon as the relaxation of the penal code against Catholics enabled them to acquire property in fee, the estate of Westcourt, near Callan, was purchased by Valentine Smyth of Carrick-on-Suir. He was, I believe, the grandson of the person deprived of Damagh, as before stated, and instituted a suit in Chancery for its recovery, without avail."

He was agent of the Ormonde estates, an office in which he was succeeded by his grandson, Edmund. The mansion and demesne of Westcourt being let on lease, when that estate was purchased by Val. Smyth, he took up his residence at The Lodge, Callan, which stands on part of the property. This Valentine had three sons, Laurence, Francis and William. Edmund Smyth succeeded to the agency of the Ormonde estates, which he held for some years. He resided at The Lodge as well as at the house in Merrion Square, Dublin, now occupied by Dr. Corrigan. He withdrew to France in 1814, and died at Versailles in 1822, leaving two sons, both born in that country. To the eldest of these the estate, Westcourt, descended as may be seen by the proceedings of the commissioners of Incumbered Estates Court, who advertised the property for sale last year (1852)."

Mr. Smyth, of London, when writing the above, did not seem to be aware that Westcourt and Ballycloven were purchased when the penal laws were still in force, and not when they had been relaxed, as he states; for, to evade the statutes, the purchase was made and perfected by the Protestant Rector of Callan, in trust for Mr. Smyth, who was a Catholic, and as such could not then have purchased openly in his own name.

The estates of the family in this and several other Irish counties, of which the Callan portion is only a small part, are now enjoyed by the Count Duboisé, a French nobleman, who inherits in right of his wife, the grand-daughter of Edmund Smyth, who died at Versailles in 1822.

The Lodge is now the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy, which was established here in 1872.

A member of this family was one of those who, from time to time, had custody of the sacred relic of the true Cross, given by the Pope to Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, in 1182, who founded the celebrated abbey of Holy Cross, near Thurles, wherein he caused the relic to be

deposited. The Earl of Ormonde, to whom this monastery was granted, took away the Holy Rood at the dissolution of the Abbey, and it remained in the possession of his family for nearly a century afterwards. Earl Walter, at his death in 1632, seeing that his successor lately a pupil of the School of Wards, would be a Protestant, transferred the relic to Dr. Fennel, to be by him handed over in trust and safe-keeping to any of his heirs professing the Roman Catholic religion, and "so to remain until the Catholic religion do flourish in this kingdom as heretofore." In consequence of his demise, it was handed over by Dr. Fennel to James Duke of Ormonde, who, in the year 1721, deposited it with his secretary, Valentine Smyth, Esq., Carrick-on-Suir, who according to the direction received by him from the Duke, gave it to Mrs. Helen Butler, of Kilcash, the widow of Colonel Butler, of Westcourt, Callan. From Mrs. Butler it passed to Mrs. Margaret Cavanagh, of Borris, wife of George Butler, Esq., of Ballyragget, in whose time, the Catholic succession in the direct line having failed, it was by her given up to the Right Rev. Francis Moylan, Catholic Bishop of Cork, to be disposed of by him according to the intentions of Earl Walter's will.

Dr. Moylan placed it in the Ursuline Convent, Cork, to be there retained until such time as the Church of the Holy Cross, with monastery of the Cistercian Monks attached thereto, shall be rebuilt, or until the direct line of the Ormondes shall again return to the Catholic faith.

"Sacred to the memory of Charles Alderly Stephenson, Esq., Capt. and Brevet Major of H. M's 47th Regiment, and Knight of the Legion of Honour, who died at Nice on the 3rd of March, 1857, in the 30th year of his age, from disease contracted on service in the Crimea, during the siege of Sebastopool. This tablet is erected by his brother officers as a slight token of their esteem for one whom all respected for his gallantry as a soldier, and valued for his sincerity as a friend."

The foregoing is the inscription on a beautiful mural tablet of white marble on the side wall of the Church. Along with this there are two others to members of this officer's family, one to his brother and the other to his father, the Rev. Charles Butler Stephenson, who was Rector of Callan for 31 years, and who died in the year 1862.

MONUMENTS IN THE RUINS OF NEWTOWN CHURCH.

Hic jacent Willmus Swetman Baro de Erley, et Johan' Tobyin ejs, uxor q obiit A.D. MCCCCCLIIJ quor' ai'bs ppciet' deus ame.'

Here lie William Sweetman, Baron of Erley, and Johanna Tobyn,

his wife, who died in the year of the Lord 1553. On their souls may God have mercy. Amen.

Hic jacet Joh nes Swetman Baron de Erley, q obiit 208 di Mens Maii, 1605 et Elena Fanning ejs. uxor q obiit, 4th die Mens Jun, 1599.

Quisquis eris qui transieri sta per lege plora Sum quod eris fueramque quod es prome precor ora. Walterus Kerin fubricavit . . . . 1560.

Here lie John Sweetman, Baron de Erley, who died on the 28th of May, 1605, and Eleanor Fanning, his wife, who died on the 4th of June, 1559.

Whoe'er thou art that passeth here stand, read, lament, and pray. Like thee, I was; thou'lt be like me; I'm gone and had my day. Walter Kerin has made . . . . 1560.

These monuments lie on a mound of rubbish which fills the eastern end of the interior of the old Church. This mound is formed of loose stones, earth and mortar; the accumulated debris of the ruins, collected here many years ago, to level the remainder of the floor, to prepare it for use as a ball-alley. Two families have still their burial places on this mound; one belongs to the Haydens of Caherlesk, and the other to Callan people named Carroll.

It is said several monuments are covered up by this heap, which likely, is quite true, as a coffin shaped slab was discovered far below the surface when the last grave was excavated. The second flag now noticed was brought up in like manner on the occasion of the interment of one of the Carrolls of Callan. This latter was the covering flag of a table monument, and the part which formed the front panel lies near it on the ground, and has depicted on it the arms or emblems of our Lord's Passion and Crucifixion. This was originally placed in an angle, probably where it now lies; the back and one of the ends are rough, as if they had been built against the wall. The front and the outer edge were chamfered; the front inscribed with the legend here written, and the end with the name of the sculptor, followed by the date, 1600, and some letters now defaced. This date shows the stone was erected after the death of the wife, but before that of the husband. In the preceding translation of the legend I have adopted that given by O'Phelan of a similar one in St. Canice's Cathedral, and which the Rev. Dr. Graves renders as follows:—"Thou who passest by pause, read and lament. I am what you shall be. I was what you are. Pray for me, I beesech

you." In my exploration of the place I have failed to discover the traditional 'Bishop's tomb' of Newtown Church, which old Bill Delany, the miller, never failed to point out to those who visited the graveyard.

There was a Milo Sweetman, Archbishop of Armagh, who, the annalists say, died at his manor of Dromiskin in 1380, but they do not say where he was buried. Milo was previously treasurer of Kilkenny.

Sir Robert Sweetman (the Swedeman ?) was summoned as a Baron to Parliament in 1374.

William Sweetman was one of the gentlemen who held lands by Knight's Service, in the "Mano of Callaine," in 1537.

The principal seat of the Sweetmans was at "Castle-eife" and Newtown De Erley, which they held of the King in capite by knight's service.

John Sweetman, of "Castle-Yffe," was accused of having joined the great rebellion of James Fitzmaurice, for which his brother, George Sweetman, was executed.

Newtown De Erley (Ballagh Urlaidhe) was granted to an officer of Cromwell's army, at the same time that Ballaghtobin was given to Henry Baker, another officer of the same regiment. A large party of Cromwell's grantees having landed at Waterford, with the intention of going to the interior of the country to inspect the several lots each had obtained, he who having got Newtown having taken sick at Waterford requested Baker to go to Newtown and bring him his report of it—Newtown and Ballaghtobin being adjacent to each other. On Baker's return to Waterford, he described Newtown so unfavourably that the sick man got so disheartened at it that he parted with it to Baker and his brother for a sum of money in hand and returned back to England.

When Cromwell's forces marched on Callan their way lay by Castle-eve, which the Sweetmans had evacuated, leaving behind them as its sole occupant a simpleton of the family, who refused to depart with the rest of the household. A party who approached to demand the surrender of the place having been fired on by the simpleton, he was made prisoner and taken before the commander, Colonel Reynolds, by whom he was immediately set at liberty, Reynolds saying, "the castle and its foolish garrison would be sure to remain until he came by again." On his return, in a few days afterwards, the castle was plundered and dismantled. The Colonel having taken a fancy to a curiously wrought garden gate, that had brass fittings, ordered it to

be carried to his baggage, and, while his men were preparing mechanical appliances for its removal, they were amazed to see the simpleton take it on his shoulders with seeming ease, and carry it to the waggon prepared for it. Most incredible stories are told of this man's immense bodily strength, and he is said to have been of gigantic stature. He is said to have been able to twist a horse-shoe with his hands; and an ash sapling, twisted into a gad, hung until lately on one of the corbels of the castle as a memorial of his strength. He continued to live in the neighbourhood, and is said to have attained an extraordinary old age.

THE CHURCHES OF CALLAN, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

BY MR. THOMAS SHELLY.

"That the memory of the past should not be extinguished by length of time."—HERODOTUS.

THE CHURCH OF THE CANONS REGULAR.

In his notice of the monasteries of the county of Kilkenny, Tighe, in his survey, mentions several of them as having been occupied in early times by Culdees, and states that in those of Callan, Kells, and Inistioge the Culdees were superseded by the Augustinians.

The name Culdee, in Irish, *Ceille De*, is derived from *Ceille*, a servant and *De* of God, and signified a servant of God, or a holy man.

Dr. Lanigan considered they were first instituted in Ireland about the eight century, and that they were a description of secular priests called Secular Canons, but are to be distinguished from the Canons Regular, or Communities of Monks, who sprung up at a much later date. The Culdees officiated as secular clergymen in the cathedrals and had pastoral charge. They were not at all priests; some being admitted as a sort of lay brethren, who sometimes went forth and gave religious instructions. So late as the year 1479 a member of the Order of Culdees was Vicar-General of Clogher. They appear to have flourished in several parts of Scotland, and also to have there been superseded by the Augustinians in the same manner as they were at Kells, Callan, and Inistioge.

There is evidence of the existence of a church in Callan about the year 1120, but no description of what sort of edifice it was; neither is

it said for how long it existed there previous to that period. In 1202 Hugh Rous, or Rufus, Bishop of Ossory, directed a parish church to be built here; and it is to be presumed this church continued to be occupied by the Culdees; for, although this Bishop was an Augustinian Canon, it is no where stated that his order was introduced here for a long time afterwards.

"Termon Callaine" was plundered and burned by the Lord Justice, MacMaurice (Fitzgerald), in 1236; and a note by the learned editor of the Annals of the Four Masters says that Termon Callaine was most probably the Abbey of Callan, in the county of Kilkenny.

In 1251, that is fifteen years after the place was burned, Hugh Mapilton founded in Callan a house of Cannons Regular of St. Augustine, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. This prelate was previously Bishop of Glendalough, and consequently a Canon of St. Augustine. All authorities agree that the house then founded by him was an establishment of his own order, and must have been that which, according to Tighe, superseded the Culdees at Callan. As in several other places in Ireland, the Canons Regular had parochial charge of Callan, the superiors being styled the "Rector and the Vciar" up to the time of Cromwell's revolution.

It is stated this church underwent a thorough repairing, or rebuilding, about the year 1460, at the expense of James Butler, father of Peter, eighth Earl of Ormonde, at the same time that he also built the Abbey of the Hermits of the river side, "where he himself was buried in 1478."

This church is specially mentioned in the will of Piers, the eighth Earl, which is here extracted from that masterly topographical work, the History of St. Canice's Cathedral, by Dr. Graves and the late Mr. Prim.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of 1539, on the 28th of May, at Pottlerath, I, Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, although sick of body, yet sound of mind, make my will in the following manner:—*Imprimis*—I leave my soul to God, to Blessed Mary the Virgin, and to the whole celestial court, and my body to be buried in the cathedral church of St. Canice, Kilkenny. Item: I appoint my eldest son, James Butler, my heir; I appoint and constitute Margaret Fitzgerald, my lawful wife, James and Richard, my sons, my joint executors. Item: I leave to my son James my best gown, and to my

son Richard my second best gown. Item: The rest of my garments I leave to be divided between the churches, and specially to the church of the Blessed Mary at Callan and of Ballygauran, according to the discretion of my supervisors and executors. Item: I leave to the said James my coat of mail and my horse, and to my son Richard my other horse. Item: I leave to the said James my great collar of gold; I leave to my son Richard my small chain of gold. Item: I leave to each plough in the county of Kilkenny one stone of wheat.

This will also directs the sons and executors "to cause every year his anniversary to be solemnly celebrated for ever in the churches of St. Canice, Kilkenny; of the Holy Trinity at Waterford; of the Church of the Blessed Mary at Callan; of the Blessed Mary at Clonmel; of St. Patrick at Cashel, and St. John of the same, and in that of St. John of Fethard." It also directs his second son, Richard, to cause the anniversary to be celebrated in the same manner at "the churches of the Blessed Mary at Kilkenny and Rosponte for my soul, the soul of my wife, and for the souls of our parents, ancestors, heirs, and successors."

About the year 1516 a shrine of the Holy Trinity was founded in the chapel of St. Catherine, in this church, by Master John Tobyn, who was then rector of the church, and whose monument still remains among the ruins.

From the suppression of the religious houses, by Henry VIII., to the time of William III. this church shared the varying fortunes of the several different parties who contended for supremacy during that stormy and eventful period.

A rector named David Cooper was appointed to this church by Edward VI., of whom it is said—

> "The King sent his parson to Callan to pray,
> But John of Kilcash came and drove him away."

The real facts were that the Ormondes in Ireland were still Catholic, and resisted this appointment on religious grounds, besides their objections to it as an infringement of their manorial rights. However, immediately afterwards a Protestant Rector was installed, and he and his successors occupied it until the Confederation of Kilkenny, when they were dispossessed, and replaced by a Catholic community, who in their turn were unceremoniously expelled by

Morrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, by whom the town and church of Callan were plundered on the 13th April, 1647.

On Morrough's departure the Confederates sent troops to garrison the town, by whom the Catholics were placed in new occupation of the church This new tenure was but of a short duration, for, in April, 1650, they were again obliged to fly before the relentless Cromwell. It is a firmly believed tradition of Callan that when Cromwell assaulted the place the priest was on the chief altar, in the choir, engaged in the celebration of the Mass, which he continued to the end, and that the choir in which he officiated remained untouched and unharmed, though the roofs of the nave and aisles, to the rere, were smashed down by the fire from the batteries. This tradition got the more credence from the fact that the aisles were to be seen roofless and in ruins, whilst the choir remained in perfect preservation until 1850, when the old roof was taken down, and replaced by the present modern one, the pitch of which was raised four feet over the old height. In the reign of James II. the Catholics for the last time obtained a temporary possession of the church; then the accession of William III. brought the last days of the old church of the Blessed Mary as a Catholic temple of worship —perhaps!

The following are the names of some of the clergymen who officiated in this church in its olden Catholic days:—

1426—Edmundus Rothe, Rector.

1442—Nicholas Whyte.

1500—John Whyte, Rector.

1501—Dermod O'Cleary, Vicar.

1516—John Tobin, Rector, "Fudator de chantere nove."

1160—James Foyce (Vass).

———Murtough O'Dowley.

1642—Rev. James Geynan, Vicar.

1660—Rev. James Phelan, Rector, subsequently Bishop of Ossory and who received King James II. in Kilkenny.

1669—Rev. Dermod O'Ryan, Vicar.

———Rev. Thady Brophy, Vicar Forane.

The final expulsion of the rector and clergy from the old church left the Catholic people of Callan without a house of public worship. The priests were driven from the church and deprived of the ample temporalities attached to it, but they wenth forth, remembering they

had still a flock requiring spiritual care, and, at the peril of their lives and liberties, they remained in the town and neighbourhood to administer it to them. An Easter Sunday of those penal times dawned on the priest and his people assembled to offer the Paschal Mass in a lonely place, midway between Callan and Coolagh, since then known as "Bosheen an Afferin."

Yet, it does not appear that the severe penal enactments of that time were so rigorously enforced in this locality as they were in several places elsewhere; and this leniency is in a great measure to be chiefly attributed to the influence exercised on the local authorities by the Butler family, several of whom were still Catholics and residents of Westcourt and Garryricken. In treating of those days, the Catholic Record names several priests as then having received their ordination at Garryricken; and Dr. Christopher Butler is said to have ordained six priests on one day in the parlour of Westcourt house. This prelate was Catholic Archbishop of Cashel for 45 years, but spent the latter years of his life at Westcourt, Callan, where he died on the 4th of September, 1757, and was buried at Kilcash. A tolerant Protestant rector of Callan at this time sent his man and horse to Garryricken to bring a priest, known to be hiding there, to the bed side of a dying Catholic neighbour.

In the course of time, as religious persecutions began to relax, the people began once more to erect places of worship. The first notice we have of a new place of Catholic worship in Callan, subsequent to the penal days, is to be found in the "rent-roll of the Duke of Ormonde" of the date of 1704. Among the holdings enumerated in this document is "one stone house, by the green, two story high, out of repair, with a garden, and made use of as a Mass-house, occupied by the Rev. Pierce Purcell, P.P."

The "stone house by the Green" was the origin of the present commodious parish church, to which are attached the parochial house, out-offices, chapel-yard and garden. The old "Mass-house" became the parish priest's residence when a chapel was built, which stretched from the house to the street in front. At this time the boundary wall at front reached several yards further on to the street than does the present wall, and the church itself reached to within a few yards of the present street wall. This old church stood until the time of Father Forristal. The first bell was procured by him; it was cast in

Rochelle, in France, and bears the date of 1774. It is still in use at Killaloe chapel.

Even up to that period the law need allow no bell in a Catholic church; but to evade this prohibitation bells were usually hung on the bough of some adjacent tree, or between two poles erected for the purpose. When Father Forristal was about to fix his bell between two such poles in his garden the Protestant churchwardens and a number of their co-religionists assembled there to protest against it as illegal, and to prevent it if possible. An officer commanding a detachment of Highlanders, then quartered in the town, was also present on the occasion, who, to the surprise of the churchwardens, rebuked them in strong terms for their intolerance, on which they retired, one by one, ashamed of themselves. The work of erecting the bell was then quietly proceeded with. John Kough, of Bridge-street, placed the bell on his head, and, being a very strong man, he, in this manner, carried it up a ladder to a platform above, where other men were placed to receive it from him and secure it in its position. The gossips of that day were uncharitable enough to say that the captain did not care much whether the church had a bell or not; but that he came there to conciliate the favour of the Catholic aunts of the Countess of Desart, then a young widow, and for whose hand the captain was a suitor. Whether the gossips were right or wrong, or whether or not the old ladies interested themselves in his behalf is a matter for conjecture; but at all events it is certain his suit prospered, for they were married immediately afterwards. This gentleman was Captain Rose Price, whose daughter was afterwards married to Mr. La Touche, one of the firm of the eminent Dublin bankers of that name. About this time the baptismal font of the ancient church was given to Father Forristal by Dean Stephenson, who was then Protestant Rector of Callan.

A sculptured stone now set in the wall over the baptismal font is also said to be a relic of the ancient church. It is a half length made effigy, loose robed, with beard, and long hair coming to the front in plaits. There is a crown on the head, and on the breast is a representation of the Crucifixion. How this figure came to the church cannot now be ascertained. It was kept for a long time under the altar of the former church before it was placed where it now is. Some have supposed it to have originally formed part of the shrine of the Holy Trinity in the old church.

In 1816 the Rev. Michael Forristal, P.P., obtained a lease of the chapel and the grounds attached to it, from Lord Clifden, at £4 per annum. The rent has since been reduced to the nominal payment of 1s. annually. Having got the lease, Father Forristal commenced to build the present church, Lord Clifden giving him £50 as a contribution towards it. Father Forristal died shortly afterwards. His successor was the Rev. James Henebery, by whom the work was spiritedly prosecuted. He died in 1834, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Mullins, in whose time the altar, the ceiling, the flooring, and galleries were done, and the front and spire completed. When the spire was finished he purchased the bell exhibited at the first Dublin Exhibition by Messrs. Murphy, which he presented as a gift to the parish. This bell is in the key of D sharp, is of a very clear sound, its weight 5¼ cwt., and cost £75. In his time also the organ was bought. Father Mullins was succeeded in the parish by the Rev. John Salmon, who caused the entrance piers and gates to be erected, and who during his charge kept the whole structure in very creditable order.

The following are the names of the parish priests of Callan during and since the penal times, as far as they can now be ascertained:—

1704—The Rev. Peter Corcoran, P.P., in whose time a priest could not be ordained without having his name registered in the Government County Office, and he was also bound to enter into bonds or recognizances for his future loyalty. The sureties for him were James Duigan and Thomas Conny, merchants of Callan, in fifty pounds each.

1705—Rev. Pierse Purcell.

1768—Rev. James Butler, who after a very long pastoral charge, died on the 25th of May, 1768.

1768—Rev. Dermid Murphy, translated from St. Patrick's parish to Callan, on 25th May, 1768. He ceased to administer the parish in the year 1788.

1788—The Rev. Nicholas Keily. Translated to Gowran in 1791.

1792—The Rev. Thomas Millea, D.D., appointed on the 16th July, 1792. He was a graduate of the White Order, and was ordained at Bourdeaux.

1806—The Rev. John Cassin. Died 24th September, 1806.

1816—Rev. Michael Forristal, P.P.

1821—Rev. James Henebery, P.P.

1834—Rev. John Mullins, P.P.
1854—Rev. John Salmon, P.P.

THE CHURCH OF THE AUSTIN HERMITS.

By a bull of Pope Pius the II. the Abbot of Ferns was entrusted with the erection of a new monastery at Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, at the request of Edmond Butler and his wife, in the year 1461.

As the monastery of the Canons Regular was then, and for a long time previous, in existence there can scarcely be any question that the permission to build the new monastery was for that of the hermits of St. Augustine, which is now in ruins in the Abbey field at the river side. Yet, except in this Bull, the name of Edmond Butler is nowhere else mentioned in connexion with the foundation of this house—all subsequent authorities agreeing in ascribing it to James Fitz Edmund Butler, his son, in the year 1471, and who, as stated by Lodge, "died in 1478, and was buried at Callan in the house which he himself had founded." Edmund having died on the 13th July, 1464, scarcely three years from the date of the Bull, it seems most probable that his intention to erect the house of the hermits of Callan was followed up and carried out by James, his son and successor, and who on this account may have been considered the founder. If this church ever contained a monument to the founder there is now no trace of it to be discovered.

His last will, in which he directs his burial here, is as follows :—

In the name of God. Amen. I, Sir James Butler, chief captain of my nation, legitimate son and heir of Edmund Butler, lately deceased, being sick of body, but sound of mind, before the witnesses here present do make my will in this form. *Imprimis*—I leave my soul to God Almighty, and the Blessed Mary His mother, and to all the saints, and my body to be buried in the Monastery of the Augustinian Friars at Callan ; and I will that all my moveable goods be distributed according to my pleasure and the pleasure of my executor ; and I make and appoint Piers Butler, my natural and legitimate son, my true heir and executor, and I leave him my horse and jupon ; to pay from my said horse to my creditors, whose goods and chattels I have unjustly detained, twenty cows as satisfaction at their pleasure, and from the jupon six cows. Item : I give and grant to him the custody and defence of the lands of my Lord the Earl of Ormonde,

as it was given to me and possessed by me. Item: I give and leave to the said Piers the particle of the true cross, and the shield of St. Michael, and all the other holy relics of the saints, and my precious stones and rings, together with my beads; likewise all the jewels which belong to me of hereditary right."

The witnesses to this will were Donat O'Mally, Prior of the Augustinian Friary of Callan; William Barred, Monk of said Friary; Master William Moghlan, Vicar of Knocktopher; Master John Horsman, Chaplain; John Moghlan, Notary Public; Evlina Forstall and her son, Richard Forstall, and John O'Reddie.

At the dissolution of the abbeys of Ireland, in 1557, "the late Friary of Callan and the buildings within the site, containing three acres, three messuages, two gardens and a kitchen garden, one acre in the same town, parcels of the said possessions of the said Friary," were granted to Thomas Earl of Ormonde. This Thomas was called "Thomaus Dhub," or Black Thomas, from the darkness of his complexion. He was brought up in England, and educated under the direction of the Court. He was the first Protestant Earl of Ormonde, and was appointed Lord Treasurer of Ireland by Queen Elizabeth in 1559. To him the Friary of Callan was surrendered by William O'Fogarty, who was the last prior.

In the time immediately preceding the Confederation of Kilkenny the Catholics obtained possession of some of the churches of which they had been before deprived, and, in anticipation of gaining a still further hold of their own, priors were nominated to vacant houses in the expectation of soon again being put into possession of them. In this manner the Rev. Patrick Comerford was collated to this house of the Austin Hermits at Callan by Pope Paul V. towards the close of his pontificate. This house was then stripped of its temporalities, and its once stately church little better than a mere ruin; yet the Austin brethren continued to live in the vicinity. The Rev. Patrick Comerford was prior in this way for about nine years, when he was consecrated bishop, and appointed to the See of Waterford. At the surrender of Waterford to Ireton, the Bishop fled to Nantz, where he died on the 10th of March, 1652. Even after this, some members of the Order remained in disguise in the town and neighbourhood, and officiated secretly during the severity of the times of persecution which followed; but there is no record that a regular community was

formed until 1766. The name of the first prior of the renewed community was Cornelius O'Mahony, who was succeeded by

Rev. Philip Tierney, Prior until 1786.

Rev. John Foley, Prior until 1790.

Rev. James Tierney, Prior until 1803.

The possessions of the Order at this time consisted of an old thatched house, and the union of two others, also thatched, which served as a chapel. The last time Mass was celebrated in it the roof gave way, and the people had to support it until Father Grace, an aged and venerable man, completed the Holy Sacrifice. These premises were to the right in Clothier's-lane, which leads from the cross to the river, to the rere of Bridge-street.

At a chapter held in 1803 the Rev. John Rice was elected prior, which office he held until 1819. During this year he obtained from Mr. John Ryan (Dr. Ryan's father) a lease of a plot of ground in Mill-street, extending thence to the river; and on this plot, through his untiring exertions, the present handsome church was erected.

When commencing to collect subscriptions for this purpose, he drew up a list of the inhabitants of Callan and the surrounding districts, placing after each person's name the sum he expected from him, and he stood on such close intimacy with the people, and was held in such high esteem by them, that, in nearly every instance, he succeeded in obtaining from them his own estimate of their generosity. The new church was completed in 1821. The Abbey Field, on which the ruins of their former house stood, was then in the possession of a Mr. Strangways, a Protestant gentleman of the town, who sold his interest in it to Mr. Patrick Rice, of Westcourt. When Mr. Rice had completed the purchase, he sold it over again to his brother John, who was then prior of the new convent, and in this manner, after a lapse of over 260 years, the Austin Hermits came once more to be the owners of the old church and grounds, surrendered to the Crown by their brethren in 1557. The new church and the old ruin stand opposite each other, one on each bank of the river, and are now connected by a neat wooden bridge.

CALLAN:

SOVEREIGNS, BURGESSES, AND TOWN COMMISSIONERS.

Callan has existed as a town corporate since the opening of the thirteenth century. The Corporation consisted of the Sovereign, Burgesses and Freemen. The Sovereign was elected annually on the day next following the Monday after the feast of St. John the Evangelist, and was sworn in on the 29th September to serve in office for the ensuing year. The burgesses were to be elected without "limit of stint," according to a former charter, recited in a grant to the town by King James I. The Freemen were elected for life, and were admitted by the "corporation at large." The Sovereign in olden times held "pleas of the Crown, Court Leet and Pye Powder." The books in which their proceedings previous to the year 1774 were entered are not now to be referred to; having been produced as evidence in the Court of King's Bench during one of the suits of the burgesses against Charles Flood, they were there detained, and have not since been recovered.

The minutes of their meetings since 1774 until the Union are of no public interest, except whatever attaches to the long continued rivalry of the families of Flood and Agar, to acquire such influence amongst the Burgesses and Freemen as would secure for themselves or their nominees the parliamentary representation of the Borough. In those days no one was admitted to corporations who would not subscribe to the Oaths of Supremacy and Abjuration, which of course excluded all Catholics.

The earliest list of Burgesses now to be had is that given in the Charter of James II. in 1688: they were as follows, viz.:—

John Lewis, Gent., Sovereign.

John Butler, Esq.
Thomas Murphy, Merchant.
Patrick M'Donnell, Esq.
Walter Conny, Esq.
John Crannan, gent.
Patrick Comerford, gent.
William Baker, gent.
James Burne, gent.
Henry Meagh, Esq.
Walter Butler, Esq.
Joseph Pressick, gent.
William Hunter, gent.
John Comerford, Physician.
Samuel Booth, Esq.
George Comerford, gent.
Henry Comerford, gent.
Edmund Butler, Esq.
John Baxter, gent.
Thomas Comerford, gent.
Bernard Mansergh, Esq.
John Purcell, gent.
James Tobin, gent.
Francis Wheeler, gent.
Thadeus Meagher, Esq.

These were, no doubt, the adherents of James II., and had but a short-lived rule. In a sheet copied from the old books there is a list of the Burgesses of Callan in the year 1699, who were the Williamites, and who supplanted the Burgesses appointed by James in 1688. They were, viz. :—

Sylvester Crosse, Recorder, 1699.
Samuel Booth, Sovereign.

James Hamilton, Esq.	Lieutenant Nicholas Collap.
Jo. Lord Bishop of Ossory.	Lieutenant-Col. Charles Percival
Sir Henry Wemys, Knight.	Francis Flood, Esq.
Agmondesham Cuffe, Esq.	Francis Jobber, gent.
Samuel Greene, Esq.	Captain John Baker.
John Langrishe, Esq.	Jyles King, gent.
Thomas Dean, Clk.	Richard Jobber, gent.
Thomas Way, Clk.	Thomas Maunsel, gent.
Captain Thomas Candler.	George Reade, Esq.
William Hankins, Clk.	Dr. John Hinton.
James Agar, Esq.	Gyles Clark, gent.
Patrick Wemys, Esq.	Captain Charles Billingsly.

The Sovereigns of Callan since 1699 were :—

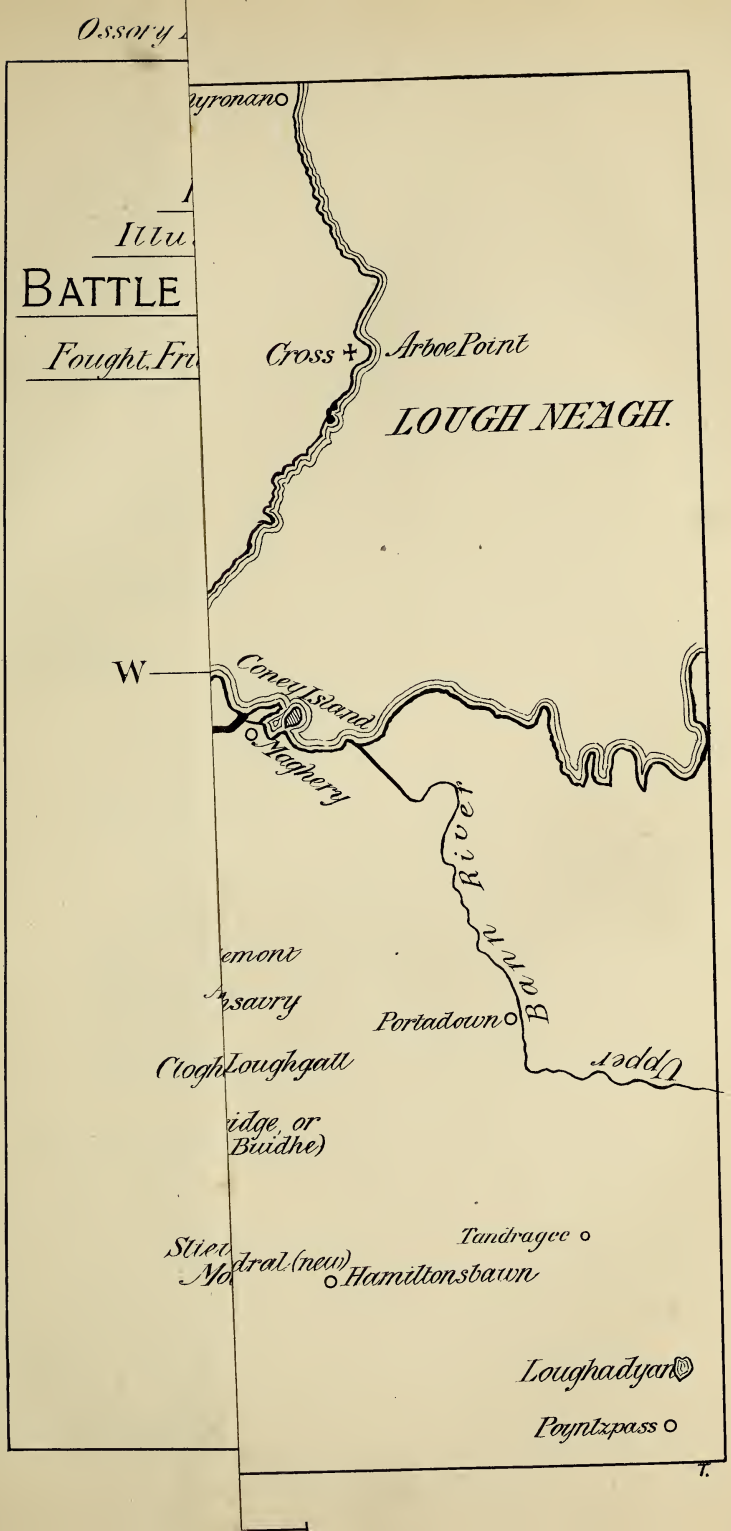
1703 to 1713 James Hamilton.
1713 to 1715 Henry Wemys.
1715 to 1728 Patrick Wemys.
1728 Warden Flood.
1729 to 1730 Patrick Wemys.
1731 to 1732 Warden Flood.
1733 Patrick Wemys.
1734 Warden Flood.
1735 to 1739 Henry Candler, Archdeacon of Ossory.
1740 Warden Flood.
1741 to 1757 Rev. Henry Candler.
1758 to 1762 Charles Flood, of Ballymack, whose election was illegal and who was removed by Writ of Mandamus from the King's Bench, and Henry Wemys elected to serve for residue of term.
1762 James Wemys.
1763 Samuel Broadstreet, elected by 33 votes against 24 for John Flood, who opposed him.

1764 Samuel Broadstreet, 33; Charles Flood, 19.
1765 Philip Savage.
1766 to 1784 Rev. Arthur Webb.
1784 to 1789 John Bambrick.
1789 George Agar to June.
1789 Right Hon. George Agar.
1790 to 1802 Patrick Walsh.
1803 to 1810 James Strangways.
1810 Lord Callan elected, but did not come from London to be sworn.
1810 Patrick Walsh.
1811 to 1814 Henry Baker.
1815 Lord Callan.
1816 In this year the first Catholic Burgesses and Freemen were admitted, though the test-oaths had long previously been abolished. The Catholics then admitted were—Messrs. Michael Keating, James Corr, and William Fennelly.
1816 Francis Shearman.
1817 to 1822 Humphrey Hartley.
1823 to 1840 Henry Ryan, of Kilfera, who was agent of the Clifden estates, and who was the last Sovereign of Callan.

At a meeting of the five-pound-householders, held on the 12th November, 1840, Henry Ryan, Sovereign, presiding, it was proposed, and carried unanimously, that the Act of 9th of Geo. IV. be adopted for the future municipal management of the town, and the following inhabitants were elected as Town Commissioners :—

Rev. C. B. Stevenson, Rector,
Rev. John Mullins, P.P.
Patrick Keating, M.D.
John Butler, Surgeon.
William Baker.
John Dunphy.
Michael Nolan.
Thomas Cooke.
A. P. Cronyn, Apothecary.
Patrick Burke.
Patrick Cody.
Patrick Shelly.
R. S. Ryan, Surgeon.
George Glendon.
Michael Lynch.
James Corr.
John Corr.

On the 2nd December following Patrick Keating, Esq., M.D., was unanimously elected chairman of the new body.


Ossory
Byronano
Illu
BATTLE
Fought Fri
Cross +
Arboe Point
LOUGH NEAGH.
W
Coney Island
Maghery
River Bann
emont
savry
Portadown
Upper
Clogh Loughgall
idge, or
Buidhe)
Tandragee
Stier
dral (new)
Hamiltonsbawn
Loughadyan
Poyntzpass

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1766 to 1784 Rev. Arthur Webb.
1784 to 1789 John Bambrick.
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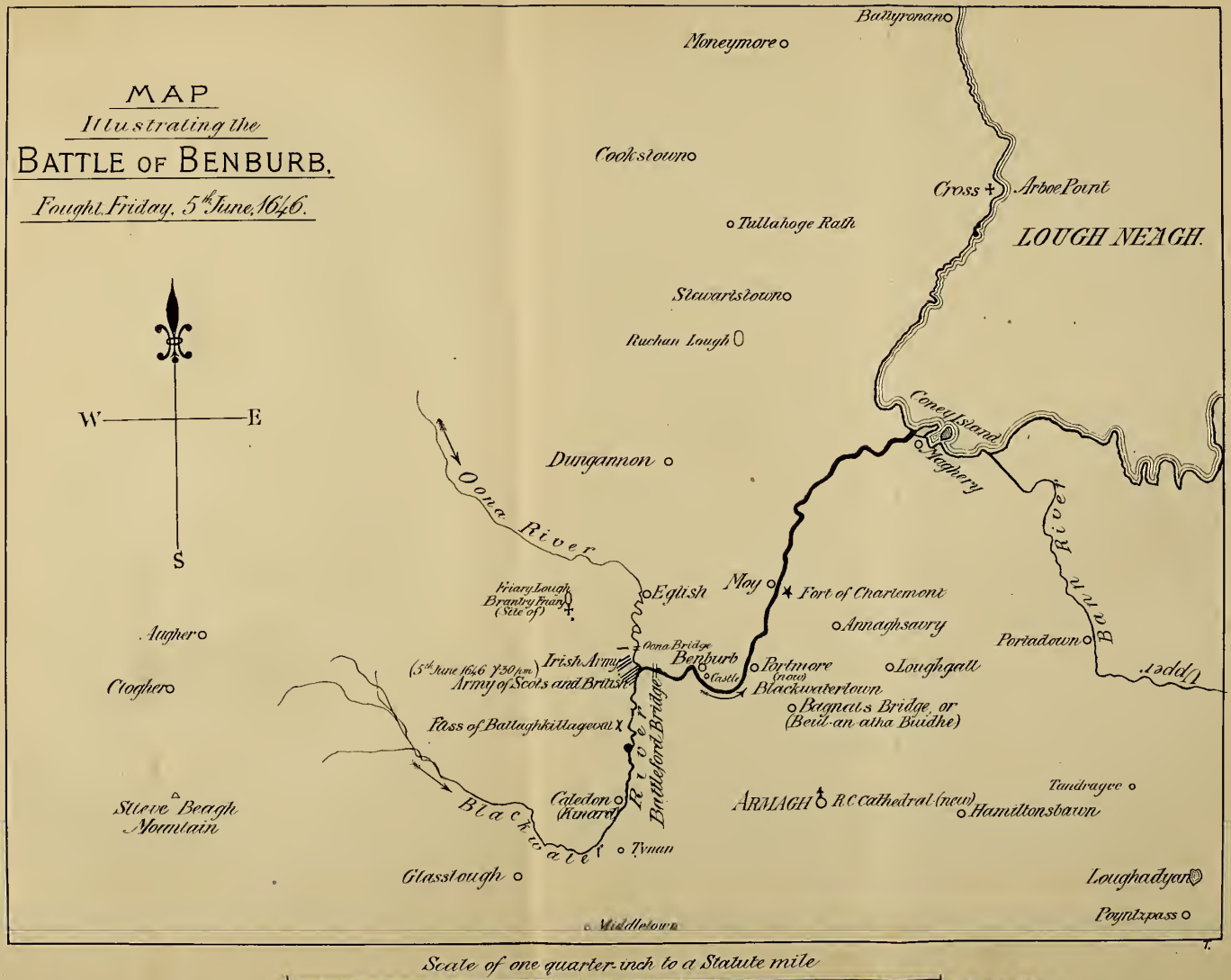
MAP
Illustrating the
BATTLE OF BENBURB,
Fought Friday, 5th June, 1646.
W
E
S
Battyronan
Moneymore
Cookstown
Cross
Arboe Point
Tullahoge Rath
LOUGH NEAGH.
Stewartstown
Ruchan Lough
Coney Island
Maghery
Dungannon
Oona River
Bann River
Friary Lough
Brantry Friary
(Site of)
Eglish
Moy
Fort of Charlemont
Annaghsavry
Portadown
Upper
Augher
Oona Bridge
Irish Army
Benburb
Castle
Portmore
(now)
Loughgall
(5th June 1646 7.30 p.m.)
Army of Scots and British
Blackwatertown
Clogher
Bagnals Bridge, or
(Beul-an-atha Buidhe)
Pass of Battaghkillagevat
River
Battleford Bridge
Tandragee
Caledon
(Kinard)
ARMAGH
R.C. Cathedral (new)
Hamiltonsbawn
Stieve Beagh
Mountain
Blackwater
Tynan
Glasslough
Loughadyan
Poyntzpass
Middletown
Scale of one quarter-inch to a Statute mile
0 ½ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 Statute Miles.

Dr. Keating having been elected chairman, the former Sovereign then handed to him the books, keys, leases, charters, mace, seal, &c., of the former Corporation, and put him in possession of the Fair Green and other corporate holdings and tenements.

The Fair Green had then been but recently walled in, and gates and entrances erected by Lord Clifden at a cost of over £300.

On the 19th March, 1855, the Act of the 9th of Geo. IV. was abandoned, and the Towns' Improvement (Ireland) Act, 17th and 18th Vic., adopted in its stead.

The Commissioners then chosen were :—

Dr. R. T. Ryan, Chairman.
Thomas Cooke.
G. H. Lowe, Solicitor.
John Dunphy.
Patrick Cody.
Patrick Shelly.
George Glendon.
Michael Corr.
Patrick Dunn.

THE BATTLE OF BENBURB.

(BY AN ULSTER ARCHÆOLOGIST).

FRIDAY, 5TH JUNE, 1646 (OLD STYLE)

On, on! This night on thy banks, Lough Neagh,
Men born in bondage shall couch them free!
On! warriors, launch'd by a warrior's hand!
Four years ye were leash'd in a brazen band;
He counted your bones and he meted your might;
This hour he dashes you into the fight!

AUBREY DE VERE.

The great Battle of Benburb was fought on Friday, the 5th of June, 1646, by Owen O'Neill and his Irish army, against the Scottish and British army, led by Major-General Robert Monroe. The date of the battle was Friday, the 5th of June, 1646, old or Julian style, which was equal to Friday, the 15th of June, 1646, Gregorian or new style. The place of the battle is in the townland of Knocknacloy, otherwise Knocknacliagh, in the parish of Clonfeacle, barony of Middle Dungannon, and county of Tyrone. The poet, Thomas Davis, has written the best and clearest account of this great Irish victory. It appears in the appendix to his poems, published by Duffy. The place

of the battle is described in characters, which cannot be effaced, as the rivers are unchanged, in these words : " O'Neill's position was defended on the right by a wet bog, and on the left by the junction of the Blackwater and the Oonagh. In his front was rough, hillocky ground, covered with scrogs and bushes." And he identified the townland of the battle, when referring to the holding of the pass at Ballaghkilagevill, otherwise Ballykilgavin, by Colonel Richard O'Farrell against Monroe's advancing cavalry, three hours before the battle, in the following sentence:—" This advance of Owen's to Ballykilgavin was only to consume time and weary the enemy, for he shortly after retreated to Knocknacliagh, where he had determined to fight." Thus has Thomas Davis described the place of the Battle of Benburb. On the ordnance maps accompanying this paper the writer has marked the positions occupied by both armies when the general attack was about to be made. The townland map shows by contour lines the shapes of the hills and their heights in feet. The three opening sentences of Thomas Davis's description of the place of battle are slightly erroneous, and do not agree with the sentences quoted, as may be observed by comparison and by reference to the map.

But the text of Mr. Davis's description is quite accurate ; for while the opening sentences place the battle on " Thistle Hill" (which is in the townland of Carrowbeg), on the left bank and eastern or Benburb side of the Oona, the text of Mr. Davis' valuable description places the fight where it really took place—namely, on the right bank and western or Kinard (Caledon) side of the Oona, and in the townland of Knocknacliagh, where O'Neill had determined to fight. The hill-top, which was the centre of the Irish position, lies at the following distances from surrounding places of note—distances being English miles, in a straight line, from each place named: From the old Castle of Dungannon, 6 3-8th miles southward ; from the great new Cathedral of St. Patrick, Armagh, 7 miles north-westward; from Caledon, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles northward ; from Moy and Charlemont, $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-westward ; and from the ancient castle of Benburb, 2 1-8th miles westward.

Owen O'Neill, having received supplies of money and arms from the Ambassador of the great Pontiff, Innocent the Tenth, gathered round his standard a force of trained soldiers and new volunteers, amounting in all to 5,000 foot and 500 horse.

He had his infantry armed so that one-half of them had muskets,

the other half had pikes. The pikes were sharp and square, very long, and "farr better to pierce"[1] than the pikes previously used in warfare in Ireland, as they had no impediments of hooks or hatchets on them. The cavalry had lances for four of the five troops, and pistols for the other troop. Towards the end of March, 1646, this army had reached a hill in the county of Cavan to undergo a long and severe course of drill and exercise in the art of war, under the instructions of its accomplished commander. The hill on which the long course of drill took place was called "The Gallanagh."[2] It is supposed to be the hill now called the Callanagh, in the parish of Drumlumman, within five miles of Granard, ten from Cavan, and four from Lough Sheelin. At the end of seven weeks from the time the drill commenced, and while it was being still continued, intelligence reached Owen O'Neill from the Irish garrison at Charlemont that the whole Scottish and British armies of Ulster were to march from their various quarters, and to join in one great army, under the supreme command of Major-General Robert Monroe, to attack the city of Kilkenny, and destroy the assembly of Catholic representatives there.[3] The main army, under the Major-General himself, was to march from Carrickfergus by Belfast, Lisnegarvey (Lisburn), Dromore, Poyntzpass, Hamilton's Bawn, and Armagh to Glasslough, to be joined there, on Friday, the 5th June, by the forces under his brother George, marching from Coleraine, by the west shore of Lough Neagh, by Maghera, Moneymore, Stewartstown and Dungannon, to the meeting place at Glasslough.[4] From Glasslough the two brothers were to march to Clones, to be joined there by the Donegal forces under Sir Robert Stewart.[5] The strength of these was as follows:—The Major-General's army of 6,000 foot and 800 horse, with seven pieces of artillery and two months' provisions, drawn by 1,500 draught horses. They were ten regiments—six Scottish and four British[5]—and were commanded by Lords Blayney, Conway, and Ards, and Sir James Montgomery, acting under Robert Monroe, the Major-General. The Coleraine forces, under Colonel George Monroe, were 300 horse and 240 musketeers.[3] Sir Robert Stewart's forces were over 2,000.[6] These made a total of about 10,000 of a complete

[1] The History of the War of Ireland, 1641 to 1653, by a British Officer of the regiment of Sir John Clottworthy. Edited by E. H., Dublin, 1873.
[2] History of the War of Ireland, &c.
[3] Father Meehan's Confederation of Kilkenny.
[4] Carte's Ormonde and Monroe's despatch.
[5] The British Officer of Clottworthy's Regiment.
[6] *Ibid.*

army. Owen O'Neill could only draw out against all these a force of 5,000 foot and 500 horse. This was a supreme moment. The Irish army was in Cavan, was drilled, armed well, and ready to march; but closing in on it was the army of the enemy, in numbers the double of the Irish, and having a park of artillery, while Owen O'Neill had not a cannon. The time of the arrival of the intelligence in Cavan, from the garrison of Charlemont, was at the end of May.[1] Therefore, in a few days the enemies of the Irish were to march from points including the entire arc of the coast-line of the Northern province—from Carrickfergus on the east; from Coleraine on the north; from Donegal on the west; and, gathering the entire forces of all the English and Scotch soldier-settlers along and between their three great converging lines of march, they were to meet—the last of them at Clones—a great and powerful army of over ten thousand men. What could the Irish force of 5,500 do against all these? The distinguished general, who at the head of the Irish army in Cavan, had this great question to answer, was a man of mighty brain and spotless character. Exiled from Ireland, in the same ship with the Earls in their flight,[2] while he was yet a child; educated at Louvain and Salamanca; he embraced the profession of arms, in which, rising from the rank of sergt.-major in 1625, he was in 1640 governor of the important city of Arras, which he defended with one thousand five hundred infantry and four hundred horse against a besieging force of 35,000 soldiers, led by three French Marshals,[3] conducting the defence in such a masterly manner as to astonish all Europe, and gain a great military reputation.[4] Yet, sacrificing prospects in Europe, brighter than were those of Wellington's career in later times in England, he forsook all to save Ireland, and the precious inheritance of her faith, dearer to him and his native land than life; and, hiding himself and his high rank from English spies, was on the sea in the frigate St. Francis, bound for Ireland, on the "eve of Trinity Sunday, 1642."[5]

Escaping the attention of the English cruisers who pursued his ship, landing safely at Doe Castle, county Donegal, whence he wrote letters to Sir Phelim O'Neill and the Irish leaders, dated 13th July, 1642,[6] announcing the arrival of himself and his companions, numbering

[1] The British Officer of Clottworthy's Regiment.
[2] Father Meehan's Flight of the Earls, p. 498.
[3] Hericourt's Sieges d'Arras and Carte's Ormonde, vol. 2, p. 318.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] Father Meehan's Flight of the Earls. [6] Carte's Ormonde.

one hundred; met by the Irish leaders with 1,500 chosen men, and conveyed by the safest roads to Charlemont, where he was welcomed by a salute of the cannon of that fort; his first military work in Ireland was to provide the fort of Charlemont against a siege.[1] Surrounded by hostile armies and great difficulties, he employed his eminent abilities wherever he could—in Longford, Leitrim, Tyrone, and Cavan—in the rugged districts—gathering, nursing, and training an Irish army. For four years he had thus laboured, when at the end of May, 1646, the intelligence of the march of the Ulster Scots and British on Kilkenny reached him while drilling his army in Cavan. The timely intelligence of the movements of his enemies was characteristic of Owen O'Neill and of his watchfulness. His watches were everywhere. The "British Officer of Clottworthy's regiment" says that he was remarkable for "good intelligence, being the life of quick action;" and Dr. Ferdinand Warner, a historian not likely to be partial to O'Neill, says:—"Owen O'Neill[2] was a man of good natural parts, much improved by experience in his profession, in the exercise of which he seems to have copied after the model of the Roman Fabius, by leaving very little to chance, in dexterously taking hold of "any advantage given him by his enemy, and in the utmost care to afford no advantage over himself. To his military qualifications may be added his sobriety, moderation, reservedness, and knowledge of the world." Carte, the great biographer of the Duke of Ormonde, speaks of Owen O'Neill in words similar to Warner's, adding that he was a "consummate master" of the art of war. This was the measure of the great man at the head of the Irish army, as estimated by Protestant historians. High as that estimate was, far greater must he have been.

The army which O'Neill commanded had as officers under him[1]: Sir Phelin O'Neill and his brother Turlough, Con, Cormac, Hugh, and Brian O'Neill; Colonel Manus MacNeill, Nial Garv O'Donnell, Mac MacHugh, Boy O'Neill, and Phelim MacTuohill O'Neill; and the following chieftains, with their clans:—Bernard MacMahon, the son

[1] Irish Brigades.

[2] Dr. Warner calls him simply Owen O'Neill. In all the great general's letters he signs himself "Owen O'Neill." For that reason alone the writer of this paper calls him Owen O'Neill, and does not style him Owen *Roe* O'Neill, or Owen *Roe Mac Art* O'Neill. Surely *he* is sufficiently distinguished to be known by his proper name without the appellation of *Roe* or *Mac Art*.

[3] A grandson of Colonel Patrick MacNeney was War Minister of Spain, 1745.—MacGeoghegan.

of Hugh, Chief of Monaghan and Baron of Dartry; Colonel MacMahon, Colonel Patrick MacNeney (who was married to Helen, sister of Bernard MacMahon), Colonel Richard O'Farrell, of Longford; Roger Maguire, of Fermanagh; Colonel Philip O'Reilly, of Ballynacargy Castle, in the county of Cavan (who was married to Rose O'Neill, the sister of Owen), and the valiant Maolmora O'Reilly (kinsman of Philip), who, from his great strength and determined bravery, was called Miles the Slasher. The O'Reillys had two hundred chosen men of their own name, and of the MacBradys, MacCabes, MacGowans, Fitzpatricks, and Fitzsimons, all of Cavan. Some fighting men were brought by MacGauran, of Templeport, and MacTernan, of Croghan. Some Connaught forces were there with the O'Rorkes, MacDermott's, O'Connors, and O'Kellys. There were there also some of the O'Donnells and O'Dohertys, of Donegal; Manus O'Cahan, of Derry; Sir Constantine Magennis, county of Down; the O'Hanlons, of Armagh, regal standard bearers of Ulster; and the O'Hagans of Tyrone. This was the Irish army and its chief, and the work before them was—with five thousand to beat ten thousand—to save Ireland from plunder and degradation, Kilkenny from sack, burning, and pillage, and the Supreme Council from annihilation. How was that work performed? At the same time that the enemy was moving from Carrickfergus, from Coleraine, from Donegal, the Irish army turned its back on the camp-field in Cavan, and marched northward!

George Monroe and Robert were to unite at Glasslough on the 5th of June; but Owen O'Neill and his army were at Glasslough on the morning of the fourth! The Irish army marched leisurely on the 4th of June—being Thursday—from Glasslough to Benburb. Their scouts of horse, performing duties similar to those of the Uhlans of the Prussian army in the late French war (1870), swept the roads far in advance, and at each side of the Irish army, even as far as Armagh.

On that same memorable Thursday, the 4th of June, the great army of Major-General Robert Monroe marched from Dromore,[1] a distance of twelve miles, to Loughadyan,[2] near Poyntz Pass, where they had intended to rest for the night.

Before leaving Dromore, Monroe ordered a party of horse, numbering

[1] Monroe's Despatch.

[2] The British Officer and Carte. Loughadyan, called on the Ordnance Maps Lough Shark, is always called Loughadyan by the people. It is one mile north of Poyntzpass station on the Great Northern Railway, and is quite close to the line, separated from it by the Newry Canal.

seventy-two, led by the lieutenant of the Major-General's own troop,[1] to advance before the army, to cross the Blackwater at Benburb, to scour the fields, and, communicating with the Coleraine forces, to confirm the order for the rendezvous at Glasslough on the fifth.

But this body of horse, having advanced as far as Armagh, met unexpectedly a few scouts of O'Neill's horse, and, having succeeded in making a prisoner of one of them, hurried him to the camping-place of Monroe at Loughadyan. With the arrival of the prisoner and his escort at Loughadyan, and on the examination of the prisoner by Monroe, there was the startling intelligence that O'Neill had been that morning at Glasslough! and had marched in the direction of Benburb and Charlemont, or Armagh.

It was between nine and ten o'clock when the Irish prisoner and his captors reached Loughadyan, and Monroe's soldiers had gone to sleep for the night; but, immediately, Monroe roused his whole army, and sent his entire force of cavalry under Lord Ards ("Montgomery, Monroe's son-in-law"[2]), in great haste, by Hamilton's-bawn to Armagh, with orders to attack the Irish army, and delay their march till he (Monroe) could come to his support with the remainder of the army, having first taken care to send for the small body of horsemen which had gone in advance of the army, from Dromore in the morning, and had captured the prisoner at Armagh, "because," said Monroe, "being intercepted by O'Neill's army it was impossible for them to get through to Colonel Monroe."

At the same time, and with due haste, the infantry and artillery struck their tents, broke up the camp on the shores of Loughadyan, and marched in the wake of the cavalry, six Irish miles, to Hamilton's-bawn, where they rested at midnight, by command of the Major-General, who directed their movements in person. The cavalry (at midnight, also), reached Armagh, and went to rest in that city, disappointed in their expectation of finding the Irish enemy. Among the motives which impelled Major-General Monroe to such energetic action, on hearing of the arrival of O'Neill's army, were his fears that the Coleraine forces might be cut off, or the advanced horse of his own

[1] Monroe's Despatch. This "lieutenant of the Major-General's own troop" was named Daniel Monroe, and, judging from the anxiety shown for his safety, was probably a son of the Major-General.

[2] The British Officer. The *Aphorismicall Discovery* says that Lord Ards was Monroe's stepson, "a son of the now wife of Montroe."

army destroyed; and that O'Neill "might escape to Charlemont," and keep his army secure there, as Castlehaven had done with another Irish army just two years before, and thus "hinder his (Monroe's) march to Kilkenny to join there with the Lord Lieutenant,"[1] because Monroe could not dare to desert the settlers, and march with all his forces to Kilkenny, when O'Neill had arrived in Ulster. Monroe and his army feared in this way, but were very confident, nevertheless, that they could easily crush the Irish army in an open fight. Monroe, himself, in his despatch, written from Carrickfergus, four days after the battle, says that his army had "too much confidence;" and a military authority on the British side says that Monroe's army "marched at a great rate, not expecting the Irish had hearts to face them."[2]

While Monroe's army pursued its toilsome and forced night-march to Hamiltonsbawn and Armagh, the Irish troops rested and slept on the lovely slopes along the Blackwater, near the ancient castle of Benburb, gathering strength for the morrow. Soundly they might sleep the short hours of the summer night, these brave Irishmen on the slopes of Benburb, watched over by the consummate skill of their leader, whose giant intellect, eagle eye, and patriot heart were busy with the coming struggle. On the morning of the great day—the fifth—the entire Irish army confessed, and O'Neill and the officers received the Most Holy Sacrament with the greatest piety.[3] The military dispositions were next made. A captain and 100 men were appointed to guard the Portmore passage of the Blackwater.[4] The passages of the Blackwater in its course to Lough Neagh were thus guarded by O'Neill's own army at Benburb; by the force named at Portmore; and by the Irish garrison of Charlemont below Portmore, and down to Lough Neagh. O'Neill, by his watchers, had been informed of the arrival of Monroe's cavalry in the city of Armagh. There was also intelligence of the approach of the Coleraine forces in the direction of Dungannon. The prisoner taken by Monroe's troopers at Armagh escaped to O'Neill, probably during Monroe's night march, but certainly at some time that night or next morning, and thus the Irish general had very full intelligence of Monroe's army and of its movements. The grand object was to prevent the junction of the two

[1] The British Officer.
[2] The British Officer.
[3] Nunciature in Ireland.
[4] The British Officer.

Monroes; and so, early on that morning of Friday, the fifth, O'Neill sent out four troops of horse, under Colonels Bernard MacMahon, Patrick MacNeney, Owen O'Doherty and Brian Roe O'Neill,[1] with orders to advance in the direction of Dungannon, to attack George Monroe and beat him back on his route.

There being only five troops of Irish horse, the four thus sent against George Monroe left but one troop remaining in the camp.

The great army of Major-General Robert Monroe, which at midnight had, with the clattering hoofs of its eight hundred swift troopers, so rudely disturbed the city of Armagh, and with the slower tramp of its ten dense battalions—comprising six thousand footmen—the peaceful vales at Hamilton's-bawn, enjoyed but a brief repose in the city and a still shorter rest at the village.

At four o'clock on the morning of the day of the battle, Robert Monroe was at the head of his infantry and artillery, marching from Hamilton's-bawn towards Armagh, and burning houses and wasting property[2] as he advanced to that city, the ancient home of peace, learning and piety.

The foot and horse being thus joined in the city, the whole army marched to Benburb, leaving Armagh about eight o'clock, and arriving opposite the Castle of Benburb about eleven o'clock, "thinking," says Monroe, "the nearer our army was to theirs to hinder them from sending any strength to fall upon Colonel Monroe, his way being directly towards the enemies quarters." "And having viewed the enemy's army in a posture to defend the passage at Benburgh (Benburb), which being hard for us to force by reason of the straitness of the pass—the enemy being master of the bridge and of the ford, very advantageous for him—presently I conserved the officers of the army to consult what was best for us to undertake, where, by joint advice, it was resolved to march, with the army in the enemie's view, to Kinard, to cross the water there, and so to draw the enemy from his advantage and from Colonel Monroe." The British and Scottish army having arrived at Benburb, and Monroe and the officers having viewed the Irish position—"between two small hills, their right protected by the river Blackwater, and their rere by a wood,"[3]—considered the passage of

[1] The British Officer. *Brian Roe O'Neill.* The great Owen had a son Bernard and a nephew named Bernard. This *Brian* was Owen's son.

[2] Carte's Ormond.

[3] Nunciature in Ireland.

the Blackwater rather hazardous in the face of the Irish enemy, and so, after a council of war, marched up the roads on the right bank, on the county Armagh side of the Blackwater, opposite the Irish, and in full view of them.

The two armies marched in view of each other, with the river between them. The army of Monroe continued its march as far as Kinard (Caledon), and there crossed the Blackwater at two o'clock.

The Irish army marched up the left bank and Tyrone side of the Blackwater, and took up its position at Knocknacloy, which is a townland bounded on the east by the Oona river for a distance of 1,300 yards, to the point where that river joins the Blackwater, and from that point by the Blackwater itself, for 500 yards more. On the west this townland was bounded by a wet bog, now drained, and in great part cut away for fuel, but yet, to this day, attesting its former wetness by the presence of a lough four acres in size, situated near the centre of the bog, and mostly within the townland of Knocknacloy, the remainder being in the townland of Tullygiven, from which circumstance it is sometimes called Tullygiven lough. The Knock (*Cnoc*) or hill, from which the townland takes part of its name, rises, near the middle of the townland, to a height of 100 feet above the level of the river Oona below; while southward, from the summit of the *Cnoc*, at a distance of five hundred yards, and south-westward from the junction of the rivers, at a distance of three hundred yards, there rises from the plain a small "hillock," or "slope," or "plain hill," to the height of fifty feet above the surface of the rivers. All of the *Cnoc* and the plain lying between it and the "hillock" formed the ground on which the Irish army resolutely took its stand on the fifth day of June, 1646. The "hillock," on the other hand, was the place held by the most advanced portion of Monroe's army, and from thence his cannon thundered their bullets at the Irish troops. The Irish general having selected this place "where he had determined to fight"[1] proceeded with the cavalry from thence towards Kinard, and watched all the movements of the enemy. He ordered "his own regiment of foot," and some of the cavalry, led by Colonel Richard O'Farrell and Major MacHugh Boy O'Neill to occupy a narrow pass which lay directly between Kinard and Knocknacloy, in the "wood called Ballagh-Killagevill;"[2] with directions to hold that

[1] Thomas Davis's Benburb.

[2] The British Officer. *The pass at the wood of Ballaghkillagevill*, otherwise *Ballykillgavin*.—There is not now any townland or place of that name in the

post only so long as the enemy could be harassed or delayed, but no longer, and then to retire towards the army at Knocknacloy by ways in the woods "as secure from horse as they could," and to give fire on the enemy from the rere while retreating; and thus draw him to the place chosen by O'Neill to fight him. Monroe's army, which had been crossing the Blackwater at two o'clock, and had passed the cannon and horses over the river in safety before three o'clock, rested for a time at Kinard, and marched before five o'clock down the left bank of the Blackwater towards the Irish enemy. Monroe's fore-troop of horse pressed forward in advance of the army, into the pass at Ballaghkillagevill, where, from the trees, the Irish suddenly sprang on them, and both sides having "saluted each other very roughly," Monroe's fore-troop was driven with loss back upon the army. Lord Ards, on meeting the repulsed troopers, galloped forward into the pass with all the cavalry but was immediately repulsed and forced to halt; having received the "like salutation" from the Irish as the fore-troop had received. Lord Ards being thus driven from the wood, sent for infantry and artillery to clear the pass; and, in response to Lord Ards' request, Colonel Cunningham marched very quickly with 500 musketeers and the field-pieces, to dislodge the Irish. But Colonel O'Farrell, having observed the approach of this party, and of Monroe's whole army close behind them, to the top of "the hill which hangs over Ballaghkillagevill,"[1] ordered the Irish to retire on the army at Knocknacloy. The Irish retreated in a quick but orderly manner, and were almost a mile distant from Monroe's field-pieces when the gunners fired on them "more to amuse themselves than that they hoped to do them any harm at so great a distance or from that height."[2] Monroe's cavalry, however, pursued O'Farrell; but O'Neill sent a fresh party of 500 infantry, "half pike, half musket," to his assistance, and thus O'Farrell, whose

locality. But in a grant of James I., to O'Gormley, of land in that locality Killeguill is named. In the maps of 1609 Killeguill is a townland there. It is marked as being surrounded by the townlands of Kilmore, Knock Ibega (Knockarogan). on the north, and Tullyremon, Stragrane, Ballydine (Dyan), and Mullyturgh (Mullentor), on the east, south, and west; so that no doubt can exist as to its locality, which was in the present townland of Cavanboy. There was no Cavanboy then, and there is no Killeguill now. The pass was one and a-half English miles south of the place of battle, and two and three-quarter miles from *Kinard* Castle. The proper form is, of course, *Bealach-Coille-Gabhail*, the road or highway of the wood of the seizure. But for the maps of 1609 we should search in vain for the pass held by O'Farrell, Mac Hugh Boy O'Neill, and Owen's own regiment of foot.

[1] Sir Richard Bellings.

[2] Sir Richard Bellings.

object in this movement was merely "to consume time and weary the enemy," accomplished all he desired, and retreated with "little loss and no disorder," to "Knocknacloy, where O'Neill had determined to fight." Monroe says, in his despatch, that his army cleared the pass about six o'clock, and that "the army followed up after the fielding-pieces, and drew up in battle forth against the enemy, who had possessed themselves with the advantagious ground, where their foot were covered with scrogs and bushes." Following Colonel O'Farrell, Monroe's army marched to the "hillock," before described as being within three hundred yards of the confluence of the rivers. On that "hillock" Lord Blayney planted his cannon. The army—keeping the cannon in front—mustered on the south side of that "easy hill;" and, on the plain behind, their battle-line extended from the Blackwater on their right to the marsh bog on their left. The Irish army being in possession of the whole of the large hill of Knocknacloy, extended its lines in front to near the foot of that hill (facing the "hillock" on which Blayney's cannon were posted), and stretched them to the left across the plain to near the confluence of the rivers, and away to the right as far as the bog. The action commenced by skirmishing down next the Oona river in "scroggy woods."[1] "The Scotch musketeers were gaining ground along the Oona, and threatened O'Neill's left, when the light cavalry of the Irish broke in among them, sabred many, drove the rest across the stream, and retired without loss."[2] New parties from both sides went forward again, and the skirmishing and musketry fire were continued. All this time the Scotch cannon posted on the slope, at a distance of 500 yards from the Irish centre, were giving fire, and "most commonly over-shot the mark," and "only twice struck down two fyles."[3] Still, the cannon annoyed the Irish centre;

[1] The British Officer.

[2] T. Davis.

[3] The British Officer. Carte's Ormonde. Of the Irish position Monroe, in his despatch, says: "The army (Monroe's) followed up after the fielding pieces, and drew up in the battle forth against the enemy, who had possessed themselves with the advantageous ground, where their foot was covered with scrogs and bushes. The service begun hot on both sides, continued from six at night till after sunset. The enemy could not get charged on our left or right wing, having the Blackwater on the right hand and a marsh bog on the left wing, and we being drawn up in the plain, having our pieces before us and our horsemen behind our reserve, and it being impossible for the enemy to charge us, but in our van our horsemen could receive them marching up."

Colonel Henry O'Neill says that Monroe's position was a good one. He says:—"Monroe's army marching (unexpectedly) over the river at Kinard towards the general (O'Neill), which was no sooner observed, but he ordered his own regiment of foot to march to a narrow pass within two miles of the camp in

and the whole Irish army called on their leader many times to allow them to advance against the enemy. But he desired them to be patient till the horse should return which went away in the morning. The sun which had beamed in the faces of the Irish most of the day would, as he descended in the clear June evening sky, be the more directly in the backs of the Irish and in the faces of their enemies.[1] About seven o'clock Lord Ards, placing himself at the head of a large body of cavalry, prepared to cross a ford of the Oona, to proceed along the east bank of that river, and to attack the Irish left flank by charging across the passages of that river, which were close to the left of the Irish army and farther up the course of the Oona.[2]

In this bold movement, Lord Ards could not have the support of infantry, and Monroe cautioned him of his danger.[3]

O'Neill, observing the movements of the enemy's cavalry, sent his son Henry, at the head of the troop of horse, and Phelim MacTuohill O'Neill, leading 600 pikemen and musketeers, to the other side of the Oona, to meet Lord Ards, Major Molloy being called on to direct the left wing of the Irish army, on the west side of the Oona, in support of this body. When Lord Ards' cavalry were in the act of crossing the Oona, they were met by Henry O'Neill and the Irish horse, supported immediately by the Irish infantry. The Irish horse and foot totally routed Monroe's cavalry, drove the survivors into the Oona, made prisoners of Lord Ards[4] and many officers, and retired to their own lines without loss. Just at this time the four squadrons of Irish cavalry, which went away in the morning, returned. For three hours had the musketry fire and skirmishing continued, when at half-past seven (an hour before sunset) the Irish cavalry "returning in great haste, in a gallop, all in a sweat, both horses and men, and drawn up in their ground,"[5] O'Neill determined to make the general attack.

the enemy's way, from whence they were soon forced by an orderly retreat into their own body, as they were marching to gain an advantageous piece of ground of which the enemy possessed themselves before they could come up, the enemy having the advantage to be drawn up on the plain hill with some useful ditches. O'Neill being necessitated to draw up his army on a low piece of shrubby ground (with some difficulty), and of great disadvantage to his men in their advancing towards the enemy, who never moved forward, but playing incessantly with their field pieces, which alarmed the party sent to Dungannon, and obliged them to return in haste."

[1] Carte's Ormonde.
[2] Aphorismicall Discoverie.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Aphorismicall Discoverie.
[5] The British Officer.

When the Scotch general saw the Irish cavalry galloping over the hills a long way off, he thought they were the forces of his brother George; but when he saw them gallop into the Irish lines, welcomed by the cheers of the Irish army, he was surprised and contemplated a retreat.[1]

But O'Neill determined on the final attack, for there seemed some danger of Monroe's manœuvring to the west,[2] sufficiently to communicate by couriers with his brother George, who, though beaten by the Irish, had so protected his forces in an enclosed place, and behind hedges,[2] that they were not utterly beaten; and, as they were a force of 300 horse and 240 musketeers, they must have kept the four troops of Irish horse well employed to beat them back so far as they had done. The Irish troops were put in order of battle. The front line consisted of four columns of infantry, placed at such equal distances from each other, that the three open spaces dividing the four columns were each equal to the size of one column.

The second line of infantry comprised three columns, placed behind the three open spaces of the front line, so that had the front line halted, and the second line marched to it, the open spaces of the front and second lines would have been filled, and the Irish army would have presented one unbroken line of infantry. And, in an emergency of battle, should the front line be driven back, they could freely retire on the second line without causing any disorder to either.[3]

The cavalry were placed behind the columns of the front line, and convenient to the wings of each column, so that they might be enabled to charge, with prompt readiness, when necessary, through the open spaces, on the enemy. The Irish reserve was composed of the stout men of Fermanagh, under Colonel Rory Maguire. They were placed on the north side of the hill, "half a quarter of an English myle out of Munroe's sight."[4] Colonel Richard O'Farrell commanded the regiments of the Irish right wing, and to his superior ability, and their valour and discipline, were entrusted the achievement of out-flanking the enemy on that side. The rivers rendered such a movement quite unnecessary on the left of the Irish army. The Irish general's "own regiment of foot" fought under O'Farrell on the right wing; the

[1] Journal of Colonel H. O'Neill.
[2] Thomas Davis.
[3] Sir R. Bellings.
[4] The British Officer.

major of that regiment being MacHugh Boy O'Neill. The left was to be the pivot of the Irish army in the battle; and the right was to swing round, and thus encompass the enemy between it and the rivers. Colonel Phelim MacTuohill O'Neill fought on the Irish left wing before the battle (when Lord Ards crossed the Oona), and it is probable that he remained on that side, and that Major Molloy also fought on the left of the Irish; while naturally, Henry O'Neill (whose journal has been quoted), would fight near his grandfather, Phelim MacTuohill O'Neill. While the Irish army was being thus drawn up, Monroe arranged his forces in battle-line to meet the attack.

His first line consisted of five columns, and the second line comprised four columns; but the four open spaces dividing the columns of the front line, and the three spaces dividing those of the second line, were too small, as may be seen from the following words by a military writer then living:[1]

"His army of foot was cast into nine divisions; five made up the front, and the four which were to second stood at some distance behind them; but so little space had been left to receive them, in case there should be use of their assistance in the front, and likewise themselves were joined so close that the rere must have compassed all the front before they could be drawn up to fight, and the front, upon any accident which might befall them, being compelled to retreat, must have disordered the rere."

The cavalry occupied the ground behind the first line of infantry, and the space behind the second line in the rere. Monroe had no reserve,[2] having kept all his forces together in one body.

While the preparations were thus being made, on Monroe's side, the Irish were fully ready to attack him.

The moment being come, Owen O'Neill spoke these words, or to this effect[3]:—Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers,—Know that those that stand before you, ready to fight, are those that banished you, your wives and children, from your lands and houses, and make you seek your bread and livelihood in strange places. Now you have arms in your hands as good as they have, and you are gentlemen as good as they are. You are the flower of Ulster, descended from as ancient

[1] Sir R. Bellings.
[2] The British Officer.
[3] The British Officer.

and honourable a stock of people as any in Europe. All Christendom knows your quarrel is good—to fight for your native birthright, and for the religion which your forefathers professed and maintained since Christianity came first to this land. So, as now is the time to consider your distressed and slavish condition, you have arms in your hands; you are as numerous as they are; and now try your valour and your strength on those who have banished you, and now resolve to destroy you, bud and branch. So let your manhood be seen by your push of pike; and I will engage if you do so, by God's assistance, through the intercession of His Blessed Mother and all the saints in heaven, that the day will be your own. Your word is *Sancta Maria*, and so in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, advance, and give not fire till you are within pike length."

On which the Chaplain General, Rev. Boetius Egan, imparted the Apostolic Blessing,[1] and the troops advanced rapidly, steadily, and evenly against the line of the enemy. The colonels, having dismounted from their horses, charged at the heads of their regiments.[2] Down the hill side went the Irish lines; simultaneously advancing—from the left on the Oona to the centre on the hill-side--from the centre on the hill-side to the right on the bog, at the same moment, went the Irish columns: the first line of infantry half musket half pike; next to them the cavalry, covered with sweat and dust and foam, who had just disposed of George Monroe; behind the cavalry the second line of foot soldiers, in three columns, half musket, half pike; but, behind the hill, and guarding the rere of the Irish (out of view of the enemy), and never to move, but to guard the Irish rere and the Oona bridge till death, if need be—was Rory Maguire's fine regiment.

On, on,—down the hill-side—across the bottom[3]—the hollow—up the slope to Blayney's cannon! The shower of bullets from musket and cannon, and the cavalry charge, broke not the Irish line.[4] Squadron after squadron of horse were thrown back from its face, in its even, rapid, and steady advance.

When the Irish army advanced very near Monroe's lines, he peremptorily ordered the cavalry to break through them.[4] His cavalry charged down the slope, and, meeting the front line of Irish

[1] Father Meehan's Irish Franciscans and Irish Hierarchy.
[2] Nunciature in Ireland.
[3] The British Officer.
[4] Monroe's despatch in Thorpe Papers, Royal Dublin Society's Library.

pikes, were driven back up hill by the pikemen; and, at the same moment, the Irish horse, rushing through the spaces at the ends of the columns, charged Monroe's horse, and drove them in disorder on their own infantry, which ill-fitted them to receive the charge of the Irish foot. The Irish infantry had charged up the hill without firing a shot. When the points of the Irish pikes met the bodies of Monroe's men the Irish musketeers fired, and the opposing lines of foot soldiers closed on each other, and met, "body to body, with push of pike."[1] Lord Blayney took a pike and fought in the ranks; and the British and Scotch resisted gallantly and long; but the Irish carried the front line clean before them.

An attempt was made by the columns of the rere line to regain the ground, but, from the confined spaces in which they were drawn up, the attempt to manœuvre them only produced disorder. The second and last desperate charge of Monroe's (second line of) cavalry was then made, and was so hurled back by the Irish pikemen, and so punished by the Irish horse, rushing instantly on them, as before, through the open spaces between the columns of foot (was that brilliant manœuvre learned on the Gallanagh?) that the Scotch horse were driven in confusion "pell mell"[2] upon the shaken and disordered infantry. Just at that moment O'Neill gave the order along the Irish ranks, "Redouble your blows, and the battle is won!!"[3]

The setting sun glared in the faces of Monroe's army; the Blackwater was behind them; the Irish army, fresh and vigorous, with their sabres, lances, and terrible pikes, was in front of them, and upon them, pressing them every moment closer to the river. The excellent order of the Irish army, and the perfection of its lines and manœuvring, guided by the great master of the art of war, added to its great fighting powers, left no chance for Monroe's army. A total rout followed, and that great army became a complete wreck. Lord Conway, Captain Burke, and forty of the horsemen escaped across the Blackwater, but most of the foot were cut to pieces or drowned in the river.[4] In the hour of victory the voice of the Bishop of Clogher—Right Rev. Heber MacMahon—was heard above the din of conflict calling on the victors by their duty to God and man to give quarter

[1] Monroe's Despatch.
[2] Monroe's Despatch.
[3] Aphorismicall Discoverie.
[4] Carte's Ormonde.

to the enemy.[1] The dead bodies[2] of 3,248 Scots and British lay on the battle-field. Lord Ards, Major Cochrane, and twenty officers and two hundred men were taken prisoners. O'Neill lost 70 killed (including Colonel Manny MacNeill and Nial Garv O'Donnell), and 200 wounded (including Colonel Richard O'Farrell and Phelim MacTuohill O'Neill).[3] The Irish got all the cannon, muskets, pikes, and sabres of the British and Scots, except the arms of a portion of Sir James Montgomery's regiment, which, being on Monroe's extreme right, effected its retreat in some order over a ford of the Blackwater. Twenty stand of colours, 1,500 draught horses, two months' provisions, and all the tents and baggage fell to the Irish; but Monroe's ammunition blew up shortly after the battle. Monroe's wig, cloak, and head-gear lay on the battle-field, and his body was searched for, but he had escaped, flying, without coat or wig,[4] to Lisburn. His flight caused great consternation to the settlers of Armagh and Down; for he deserted Portadown, leaving it no defence; burnt Dundrum, and ordered a levy of two musketeers on every house.[5] And so the main army of the Scotch and British, under the great Major-General, was destroyed. The Coleraine forces, under George Monroe, fled homewards; they "miraculously retreated home from the enemy," as Monroe himself expressed it. The Donegal forces, under Sir Robert Stewart, also tried the virtue of a "miraculous retreat" from Augher; for, when O'Neill's army, two days after the battle, sought Stewart at Augher he was gone, and, in his hurry, had left a drum and muskets behind him. Stewart's performances at Clones,[6] and his burning of Brantry Friary,[7] on Wednesday, the 14th of June,

[1] Stuart's History of Armagh, which gives as its authority O'Conor's Dissertations, page 74.

[2] Carte's Ormonde.

[3] Journal of Colonel H. O'Neill.

[4] Carte's Ormonde.

[5] Carte's Ormonde.

[6] Colonel O'Neill's Journal.

[7] Sir R. Stewart's letters in Shirley's History of Monaghan County, &c. Brantry Friary was situated in the district known as "The Brantry," among great woods, on the west side of the parish of Clonfeacle, in the County Tyrone. It was picturesquely situated on a hill-side, about one hundred yards from the south shore of a lough, whose waters cover an extent of seventeen acres, and whose name is Friary Lough to this day. It was at the northern end of the townland of Gort, was embosomed in the hill, and was, in its day, encircled in the seclusion of the great woods of the Brantry, whose deep solitude often afforded friendly shelter to many a pious and faithful priest, and to many a brave layman, hunted from altars and homes in troubled times. The "Brantry Woods" are no longer seen around the site of the Friary; but a portion of them, covering seventy acres, has been spared and yet exists on the shores of Brantry lough, which is three quarters of a mile south of Friary lough. The Friary

1643, were memories to be avenged. But Benburb was fought, and the 5,000 Irishmen had beaten the 10,000 Scots and British who had marched against them. Ireland was saved from the plunder and burnings of that great hostile army. The city of Kilkenny, with its Supreme Council of Catholic prelates and representatives, was spared from destruction.

The day after the battle Owen O'Neill had the corpses of Lord Blayney and Captain Hamilton interred in Benburb Church.[1] There is in Benburb Church a slab with the following inscription:—Here lyeth the body of Captain James Hamilton, late of Newcastle, in the county of Down, son and heir of William Hamilton, of Newcastle, in the said county, Esq., brother to the Rt. Honble. Lord Viscount Claneboy. The said James was slain in His Majesty's service against the Irish rebbels, near Benburb, the 5th day of June, 1646." The "Irish rebels" had more respect for Hamilton's corpse than had Hamilton's friends, who put this inscription over him, for the generous victors who buried him, or for the truth of the epitaph. The despatch of Owen O'Neill to the Nuncio, announcing the victory of Benburb, is taken from Father Meehan's great work, the "Irish Franciscan Monasteries and Irish Hierarchy, 5th edition, p. 434:—Illme. et Rme. Dne.—Die 5 presentis mensis contuli signa cum exercitu generalis Montroi: quatuor aut quinque horis acerrime fuit dimicatum; tandem D.O.M. voluit victoriam penes Catholicos esse. Ipsi gloria in sæcula. Ille exercitus constabat x legionibus peditum, et 12 turmis equitum: penitus est deletus. Vexilla, tormenta bellica, tentoria, arma, comeatus et ornamenta ejus omnia in potestatem Catholici militis devenerunt: Officiales omnes vel cæsi sunt aut capti. Solus Montroius nec vivus inven-

belonged to the good Fathers of the Order of St Francis. Judging from the fact that in 1641 there were six members of the Friary named O'Loughran (O'Lacheran), the community must have been pretty numerous. Father O'Mellan belonged to it, and his journal of events of that time is in the Royal Irish Academy. Owen O Neill and a few distinguished officers of his staff sought for a little rest at this Friary, and slept there for a few hours on the night of the 13th of June, 1643, on their way from Clones to Charlemont, after having that day, at Clones, defended in the most heroic manner the poor *Creates*, who were driving their cattle southwar[illegible] by appointment, and had been betrayed to Sir Robert Stewart and Sir William Stewart, who attacked them with a large army. Stewart's troopers, on the following day, rode to Brantry Friary and burned it. They expected to find O'Neill and his officers here, but were disappointed, as they had gone to Charlemont before Stewart's troopers arrived. The site of this Friary is 2½ miles south-west of the place of the battle of Benburb, 9½ miles north-west of Armagh, 5 miles south-west of Dungannon, 6½ miles west of Charlemont, and is only two miles from Eglish Catholic chapel.

[1] Journal of Colonel Henry MacTully O'Neill in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernie*, vol. 2.

itur, nec mortuus; ipsius adscititii crines, pallium, biretum, et tunica apud gregarium militem sunt inventa. D. vicecomes Montgomerii qui apud ipsos extitit imperator equitum, apud nos nunc captivus, visis et agnitis illis ornamentis dicit se omnino credere ipsum occisum; dicetur brevi quid ei evenerit. Fusiorem relationem hujus prælii, uti et status nostri universi, relinquo patri definitori Boetio Egano. Solum rogo ut sua gratia moveat Supremum Concilium ad mittenda propere in hanc provinciam 2 tormenta bellica et globos competentes, ut possit adjicere fortalitia saltem aliqua, quod effecerit omnipotens, uti omnino spero, si illa mittuntur tempestive. Rogo similiter ut gratia vestra oret pro nobis et divinæ Majestati videat agi solemniter pro supradicta victoria gratias. Si provideat sua gratia huic exercitui erit singulari auxilio religionis conservationi, et hostibus propellendis opportunus.

Ex Castro apud Benburb, 9° Junii, 1646.

D. EUGENIUS O'NEILL.

(TRANSLATION).

Most illustrious and Reverend Lord,—On the 5th instant I measured swords with General Monroe. The action lasted four or five hours with great carnage till it pleased Almighty God to give us the victory; to Him be the glory and praise for ever and ever. The Puritans had ten regiments of foot and twelve squadrons of horse, all of which have been utterly destroyed. The standards, great guns, tents, arms, provisions, valuable ornaments, etc., etc., have all fallen into the hands of our soldiers. All the officers are either slain or made prisoners. Monroe we have not been able to find dead or alive; his wig, cloak, and head-gear were picked up by our men. Lord Montgomery, who commanded their horse, now our prisoner, after identifying these objects, says that Monroe must have been killed. By-and-bye we will ascertain what became of him. I leave the circumstantial account of this action, and of our actual condition, to Father Boetius Egan, of the Order of St. Francis, who will give you all particulars. I beseech you to get from the Supreme Council two pieces of cannon, with suitable ball, as we are desirous to arm a few fortresses, which we can easily do if our request is granted in time.

I beseech you, likewise, to pray for us, and to have solemn thanks returned to the Divine Majesty, who has blessed us with such a signal victory. If your Grace will see to the wants of this army, you will always find it ready to protect religion and crush our enemies.

From the Castle of Benburb, 9th June, 1646.

DON EUGENE O'NEILL.

To-day, after a lapse of 232 years, and their sad trials, it is not to be expected that many traditions of the battle can be found among the people. However, from very old men, the writer has heard related the two traditions printed in the notes below.[1]

[1] There is a tradition that Owen O'Neill, at Charlemont, went one day to Phelim, who was in the act of drilling the troops. Owen, having remained for a short time, said to Phelim, taking him aside, "There is a spy in the ranks." Phelim said it was impossible. On which Owen suggested to Phelim to order the soldiers to open the bags, containing the usual rations, carried by every soldier, so that each might be inspected. Every soldier exhibited his ba nock of *greadan bread*, baked of oatmeal, on stones over which a fire had been burned. But one soldier along the line was found to have bread baked from wheaten flour, and on examination he was found to be a spy from Leinster He was sentenced to be hanged on the spot, and a gallows was put up. When the rope was about his neck, Owen called him aside, and, after a short conversation, sent him away uninjured. The forgiveness and saving of his life were gratefully returned by signal service to O'Neill afterwards.

Another tradition among the p ople says that on the morning of the day of the battle of Benburb, Owen O'Neill and his brother disagreed, on which his brother took away his army towards Dungannon or Carnteel; but his brother, hearing the cannon in the evening, was agitated, and said, "I will not stay here; my brother is a-beating at Benburb." And so he and his army galloped to Benburb, just in time, and the battle was won by the union of the two brothers.

EARLY IRISH MISSIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

III.—THE SUCCESSORS OF ST. COLUMBA IN IONA.

The monastery of Iona presents to us the singular spectacle of an Irish missionary community which, though situated at a distance from the mother-land, and subject to a thousand hostile influences, yet, throughout a long period of six hundred years, retained its distinctive character, and preserved an unbroken succession of Irish abbots, who walking in the footsteps of their founder, proved themselves full of the Spirit of God, and earnestly devoted to the observances of the religious life. The Venerable Bede, speaking of St. Columba, says: "This we know of him for certain, that he left successors distinguished for their great charity, divine love, and strict attention to their rules of discipline; following, indeed, uncertain cycles in their computation of the great festival of Easter, because, far away as they were out of the world, no one had supplied them with the synodal decrees relating to the Paschal observance; yet, withal, diligently observing such works of piety and charity as they could find in the Prophetic, Evangelic and Apostolic writings."[1] The influence of Iona on the Scottish Church did not cease with the death of St. Columba; on the contrary, the missions and monasteries which he had founded throughout Scotland continued to look to his successor in Iona as their head, and as Bede again records: "This monastery for a long time held the pre-eminence over most of those of the northern Scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the direction of their people."

Baethen, a near relative of St. Columba, was his immediate successor in the abbacy of Iona. Born in the year 536, he was one of the twelve companions chosen by the Saint when setting sail for Britain. A little later he was appointed to preside over the monastery in the island of Tiree; and, at the close of St. Columba's life, we find him receiving the last dictations of the Saint. From a narrative preserved in St. Columba's life, we learn the high esteem in which St. Baethen was held by our early saints. We there read that the holy man St. Fintan Munnu, founder of Taghmon, burning with desire to visit Iona, went to an old friend, called in the Scotic tongue Columb

[1] *Bede*, Hist. Ecc. III., 4.

Crag, the most prudent and venerable cleric in his country, to get some sound advice. He was counselled by him to cross the sea to St. Columba, but before he could take his departure, two monks of Iona arrived, who, when interrogated, "Is your holy father Columba well?" burst into tears, and answered with sorrow: "Our patron is, indeed, well; for a few days ago he departed to Christ." Hearing this, Fintan and Columb, and all who were there present, fell prostrate on the ground, and wept bitterly. Fintan then asked, "Whom did he leave as his successor?" "Baethen, his disciple," they replied; whereupon all cried out, "It is meet: it is right." And when Columb said to Fintan, "What wilt thou do now, Fintan?" he replied, "With God's permission, I will sail over to Baethen, that wise and holy man, and, if he receive me, I will take him as my abbot."[1] The Martyrology of Donegal numbers Baethen among the saints, and registers two anecdotes relating to him. When he partook of food, before each morsel he was wont to say, '*Deus in adjutorium meum intende.*' When he worked in the fields, gathering in the corn along with the monks, he used to hold up one hand towards heaven, beseeching God, while with the other hand he gathered the corn.

St. Laisren was the next abbot, being translated to Iona from the monastery of Durrow. He was followed by Fergna, who, though descended from the royal family of Conall Gulban, and closely allied to St. Columba, was surnamed 'the Briton' on account of his having sojourned from his early youth in the sister isle. He was specially beloved by St. Columba, and he was permitted to witness and participate in some of the heavenly visions of his master. He is styled a Bishop in some of our ancient kalendars, being probably promoted towards the close of his life to the Episcopal dignity. The festology of Aengus assigns the second of March to "The festival of Fergna, the fair, of Iona." It was during his abbacy that many of the young and noble Angles of Bernicia, flying from the sword of Aeduin, King of Deira, though yet pagans, took refuge in Iona: they were there instructed in the doctrines of Faith, and regenerated by the grace of Baptism.[2]

Seghine and Suibhne were his successors, and then we meet with St. Cummian, who was a man of great learning, and is deservedly numbered among the most illustrious saints of Iona. He wrote a life

[1] Adamnan I. 2.
[2] *Bede*, Hist. Ecc. III. 1.

of St. Columba, which has been published by Mabillon, but he is still more renowned for his letter[1] on the paschal controversy, addressed to the abbot Seghine, in which he displays a thorough knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures and the ecclesiastical writers, and an accurate study of the various cycles for the computation of Easter. He adds that he had consulted "the successors of our ancient fathers" in the Irish Church that they might direct him as to the course he should pursue, and, they having assembled together at Magh-Lena, near Tullamore, "came to the resolution that they ought to adopt without scruple the most worthy and approved practice recommended to them by the successors of the Apostles of the Lord." Not long after, however, dissensions again arose: wherefore, he writes, "it was determined by our seniors to act in accordance with the Synodical Decree, that if questions of a more weighty character arise they are to be referred to the head of cities; and they sent some whom they knew to be wise and humble to Rome, as children to their mother," and, having had a prosperous journey by the will of God, they returned in the third year, attesting the discipline of the Holy See, and bearing with them rich treasures of the relics of the Apostles and the Martyrs of Christ. This letter is justly regarded as one of the most authentic and important documents that have been handed down to us from the golden ages of our country's faith, and we could desire no clearer record of the close bonds that united our Fathers with the Mother Church of Rome. In connection with the sacred treasures which the Irish pilgrims bore with them from Rome, St. Cummian writes that many miracles were performed through them: "with our own eyes, he says, we have seen a girl quite blind opening her eyes at these relics, and a paralytic walking, and many demons cast out." It is also recorded in the Martyrology of Cathal Maguir that St. Cummian founded a church at Disert-Chuimin, in the neighbourhood of Roscrea, and enriched it with relics of SS. Peter and Paul, which continued to be preserved there till, during the Danish invasion, they were translated to Roscrea.[2] The memory of St. Cummian is preserved in some of the old Scottish sanctuaries. Thus, Fort Augustus is, by the Celtic-speaking population, still called Killchuimin, and the Church of Glenealy is also known as St. Cummian's Church.[3]

[1] Published by Usher, in "Sylloge," xi.

[2] "Cumineus Abbas Hiensis: ipse est qui tulit reliquias sanctorum Petri et Pauli ad Desertum Cumini in districtu Roscreensi,' ap. *Colgan* Acta SS., pag. 411., n. 26.

[3] *Forbes*, Kalendars, pag. 317.

The next Abbot of Iona was St. Failbhe, who is honoured in our Martyrologies on the 22nd of March ; and after him came St. Adamnan, whose name is perhaps the brightest that adorns the long roll of the successors of St. Columba. He was born in Ireland, in the south-west of the county of Donegal, in the year 624. A legend connected with his early years represents him as receiving favor and protection from Finnachta, a chief of the southern Hy Niall, and subsequently monarch of Ireland. When the valiant and hospitable monarch ascended the throne, in the year 675, Adamnan, who had now acquired great fame for learning and sanctity, was invited to his court to become his *anmchara* or confessor ; and he remained there till summoned to the abbacy of Iona, on the death of Failbhe, in the year 679. Whilst Abbot he repaired the monastery, sending twelve vessels to Lorn for oak trees to furnish the necessary timber. In this work, as Boece relates, he was aided by Maelduin, King of Dalriada, whose death is recorded by Tighernac in the year 590. On two occasions Adamnan proceeded to the court of King Aldfrid of Northumbria. This Prince had lived for many years in exile in Ireland, and Adamnan had become acquainted with him at the court of the Irish monarch ; some Irish records even add that he was for some time tutor of Aldfrid, and the intimacy which he thus contracted with him proved serviceable to Ireland in after-times. One of the Saxon generals, during Ecgfrid's reign, having landed a body of troops on the Irish coast, had plundered the fertile plain of Magh-Bregha as far as Bealach-duin, and carried off a large number of men and women into captivity. When, soon after, Ecgfrid set out on the fatal expedition against the Picts, in the year 685, he is said by our annalists to have met with his death and overthrow in punishment of the cruelty he had shown to the unoffending inhabitants of Erin. Now that Aldfrid was recalled to the throne of Northumbria, Adamnan, in 686, proceeded on his first mission to that court to solicit the release of the Irish captives. He was welcomed by the Northumbrian prince, and found a ready answer to his petition. "Adamnan's demand was, thus runs the Irish record, that a complete restoration of the captives should be made to him, and that no Saxon should ever again go upon a predatory excursion to Erin : and Adamnan brought back all the captives." From the details added in the same narrative we learn the road taken by Adamnan on this occasion. He proceeded in his coracle to the Solway Firth, and

landed on the southern shore, "where the strand is long and the flood rapid," and thence pursued his way on foot to the royal residence. Two years later Adamnan undertook a second journey to the court of Aldfrid. The object of this visit is not recorded, but "it probably was some matter of international policy which Adamnan was chosen to negociate."[1] It was during this second visit to Northumbria that Adamnan presented to Aldfrid his invaluable work on the Holy Land, entitled "De locis Sanctis," a work which Bede can scarcely find words to commend.[2] Adamnan remained for some time in England, and visiting many of its religious homes, became fully acquainted with the correct computation of Easter, of which he soon proved himself a devoted champion. It was on this occasion, too, that he visited the holy abbot Ceolfrid, who, in a letter which is preserved in the Ecclesiastical History of Venerable Bede, took occasion to attest the humility and piety of St. Adamnan, and "the wonderful prudence which he displayed in his actions and words."

Adamnan made frequent visits to his native country, and took a prominent part in the synods and conventions of the clergy and princes which were held at this period. The annalists especially record his journey to Ireland in the year 692. At this time the monarch, Finnachta, had incurred the displeasure of the Hy-Niall race by some concessions which he made to the rival clans of Leinster. He had also incurred the displeasure of the clergy, by refusing to the lands of St. Columbkille the privileges which were granted to those of SS. Patrick and Finnian, and Kieran of Clonmacnoise. Adamnan's mission had for its object to restore peace and to heal the dissensions which had arisen. Finnachta, however, would not yield to his counsel and entreaties, wherefore Adamnan prophecied his speedy overthrow and death, which was verified in 695. In the year 697 he again visited Ireland, and obtained the sanction of the Irish princes that men alone should be subject to military service, for hitherto, writes the annalist, the women and the men were alike subject to that law. It is generally supposed that the "Lex Innocentium," with which St. Adamnan's name is linked in all our ancient records, refers to this exemption of women from military service. It seems to me, however, that it further implied that females were not to be subjected to captivity or any of

[1] *Skene*, Historians of Scotland, vi., CL. II.
[2] *Bede*, Ec. Hist. v. 15.

the penalties of warfare. "These are the four chief laws of Erin, writes the Scholiast on St. Aengus in the Leabhar Breac: Patrick's Law that clerics should not be killed: Brigid's Law that the cattle shall not be killed; Adamnan's Law that women shall not be killed: and the Law of the Lord's-day that it be not desecrated." It was in the same year that a great Synod was convened at Tara, at which all the chief ecclesiastics of the Irish Church, with many of the Irish chieftains, took part. St. Adamnan was one of the guiding spirits of this convention, and in connection with it tradition has attached his name to many of the cherished sites which are pointed out on the royal hill of Tara; for instance, 'the Pavilion of Adamnan,' 'Adamnan's Chair,' 'Adamnan's mound,' and 'Adamnan's cross.' At this synod, Flann Febhla, Archbishop of Armagh, presided, whilst at the head of the laity was Loingsech, monarch of Ireland, and with him were forty-seven chiefs of various territories. The name of Bruide Mac Derili, King of the Picts, is also marked down among the princes present, and it is probable that his friendship for Adamnan led him to take part in this august convention. It is probable that St. Adamnan's Law was sanctioned on this occasion, and other canons, half civil, half ecclesiastical, which have come down to us bearing the name of St. Adamnan, seem to have been enacted at this great synod. It was also by the order of the clergy and princes thus assembled that the famous collection of canons was made, which is now known as the "Collectio Hibernensis Canonum." The last seven years of St. Adamnan's life were spent in Ireland, and it is affirmed by some that he was at this time consecrated Bishop. He died on 23rd of September, 704, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

It was principally for his great austerities that Adamnan was famed among his countrymen, and, indeed, his penitential exercises, as set down in his Irish Life, can be compared only with those of the great fathers and hermits of the Egyptian deserts. For his literary merit he also holds high place amongst the most illustrious of our mediæval writers. His work 'De Locis Sanctis,' to which I have already referred, was the first after St. Jerome's time which made known to the western world the condition of the holy places, and the sacred traditions of the East regarding them. St. Adamnan had not himself visited Palestine, but a venerable French Bishop, named Arculfus, who had spent nine months visiting the holy places, was

driven by a storm on the British coast, and being hospitably welcomed in the monastery of Iona, Adamnan carefully noted down the facts narrated by him, and, arranging them in due order, composed this most important treatise, so valuable for all who desire to become acquainted with the scenes of the Gospel narrative, or who seek to explore the history of the cradle lands of our holy Faith. Adamnan's Life of St. Columba has already been frequently referred to in the preceding pages. As regards the early history of North Britain, it is scarcely second to the great work of Venerable Bede. Dr. Forbes styles it "the solitary record of a portion of the history of the Church of Scotland" (Kalendars, pag. 265); and Dean Reeves does not hesitate to pronounce it "one of the most important pieces of hagiology in existence."[1] A spirit of piety and filial love for his great patron, St. Columba, may be discerned in every line, and he sketches in it, with the enthusiasm of admiration and the love of a son, an exalted model of spiritual perfection for himself and his beloved brethren, the Irish monks. There is also a very ancient Tract in Irish called "the Vision of Adamnan," which under the form of a vision contains a religious discourse on the joys and sufferings which await men in the next world. He mentions as specially condemned to torments those "Airchinnechs who, in the presence of the Relics of the Saints, administer the gifts and titles of God, but who turn the profits to their own private ends from the strangers and the poor of the Lord." He very explicitly lays down the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory, for he sets before us three classes of those who suffer for a time but "are destined for eternal life, and even in their torments are free from the rule of the demons, whilst those, who are condemned to eternal torments, are subjected to the demons." Having described the joys of Heaven, he adds that "his soul desired to remain in that happy region, but heard from behind him, through the veil, the voice of his guardian angel commanding it to be replaced in the same body from which it had passed, and instructing it to relate in the assemblies and conventions of the laity and clergy the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell, such as the conducting Angel had made known to it."

St. Adamnan is named in the Festology of St. Aengus and in all our martyrologies on the 23rd of September. He, moreover, receives the highest eulogies in our ancient records. The Introduction to the

[1] *Reeves*, Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, I. 43.

'Vision' just referred to styles him "the high sage of the western world." Venerable Bede says that he was "a good and a wise man, and remarkably learned in the knowledge of the Scriptures."[1] The Abbot Ceolfrid calls him "the Abbot and renowned priest of the Columbian order."[2] The Martyrology of Donegal, having entered his feast on the 23rd of September, adds that "He was a vessel of wisdom, and a man full of the grace of God and of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of every other wisdom; a burning lamp, which illuminated and enlightened the west of Europe with the light of virtues and good morals, laws and rules, wisdom and knowledge, humility and self-abasement." Alcuin, too, in the verses with which he decorated the church of Tours, mentions St Adamnan as one of "the renowned fathers and masters of the spiritual life," whose protection he invokes for the faithful. Fordun, in a later age, commemorates him as "adorned with virtues and miracles,"[3] whilst the Four Masters sum up his character thus: "Adamnan was a good man, according to the testimony of Bede; for he was tearful, penitent, given to prayer, diligent, ascetic, temperate; he never used to eat except on Sunday and Thursday; he made a slave of himself to these virtues; and, moreover, he was wise and learned in the clear understanding of the Holy Scriptures of God." St. Adamnan is honoured in Raphoe and many other churches in Ireland. In Scotland he is patron of Furvie on the east coast of Aberdeen, where a venerable ruin still marks the site of his ancient church; it stands in the middle of a small plantation of stunted firs and alder, on a little eminence gently rising from a swampy bottom, with a rivulet half-enclosing it on the south side. The church of Forglen, where the sacred banner of St. Columba, called the Breachbannach, was preserved, was also dedicated to him. At. Aboyn, on the north side of the Dee, is a large old tree, called 'St. Eunan's Tree,'[4] at the foot of which is 'St. Eunan's Well.' The Islands of Inchkerth and Sanda had sanctuaries dedicated to him, and his memory was also cherished in Tannadice, Killeunan, Dalmeny, and Campsie. The ancient records particularly attest that St. Adamnan, emulating

[1] *Bede* Ecc. Hist. v. 15.

[2] Ibid. v. 21.

[3] *Fordun* "virutibus pollens et miraculis." 111. 43.

[4] The Celtic name Adamnan is pronounced Aunan or Eunan, which has given rise to a manifold variety in the form in which the Saint's name appears, as may be seen in the "Historians of Scotland," vol. vi. Introduction, pag. CLXX.

the piety of St. Germain of Paris, made it his care to enrich the monastery of Iona with many precious relics of the saints: "Illustrious was this Adamnan; it was by him was gathered the great collection of the relics of the saints into one shrine, and that was the shrine which Cilline Droicthech, son of Dicolla, brought to Erin to make peace and friendship between the Cinel-Conaill and the Cinel-Eoghain."[1] In Lynch's MS. History of Irish Bishops, we are told that Adamnan composed a poem in honour of these relics which he had gathered; and it is added that he caused two rich shrines to be made for the relics, one of which with its sacred treasure was preserved at Ardnagelligan in O'Kane's country, the other at Skreen, in the diocese of Killala. This latter spot still retains many memorials of St. Adamnan. The old church is named from him, and a little to the east of it is his well, from which the townland derives its name of Toberawnaun (Tobar-Adhamhnain). Colgan, citing the Life of St. Forannan, tells us that the parish derived its name of Skreen from this famous shrine of Adamnan "Scrinium Sancti Adamnani;" and that its church was "noble and venerable for its relics of many saints." The list of the relics preserved in this famous shrine may be seen among the Brussels MSS, and in Lynch's MS. History, already referred to. There were in this sacred treasure particles from the bones of St. Patrick and St. Declan; portions of the cincture of St. Paul the Hermit, of the mantle of St. Martin of Tours, and of the habit of St. Brigid: there was also the head of St. Carthage, and other precious relics of St. Mochemogue, St. Molua, St. Columba-mac-Crimthan, St. Mathan, and other saints. In the same shrine was deposited a MS. copy of the Gospels, as also a collection of Latin and Irish Hymns, the same, probably, as the two MSS. of the 'Liber Hymnorum,' which have fortunately been preserved to our own times.

It is not necessary to dwell on the lives of the later Abbots of Iona. They inherited the spirit and walked in the footsteps of their first fathers. We will just now give a complete list of these devoted men who in a singularly unbroken succession continued to rule this monastery down to the 13th century, but it will not be uninteresting to premit in a few words a sketch of the disciplinary observances of this ancient Celtic community, as they are presented in the pages of SS. Cummian and Adamnan.

[1] Ibid., pag. CLXV.

Those who were enrolled in the monastery of Iona were regarded as soldiers of Christ, whose purpose it was to renounce the world and its cares, and to live and labour for God alone. The monastery was ruled by an Abbot, whose ecclesiastical rank, indeed, was that of a priest, but whose jurisdiction nevertheless extended over many bishops. The community lived together as a *Muinter* or family: each one acted towards the rest, and loved them as his brothers, and all obeyed the Abbot as their Father. Kneeling before the altar, they took the solemn monastic vow, and the Tonsure was given them after the Irish fashion, that is to say, the fore part of the head was made bare from ear to ear. Obedience even unto death was a fundamental principle of their rule: hence we find them at the whisper of the Abbot setting forth without a moment's delay to labour and to preach, or again starting on distant and perilous journeys. In Iona, as in the other great Irish monasteries at home and abroad, all things were held in common, and no personal property was allowed. In St. Columba's rule, as in that of St. Columbanus, the monks were directed "to love poverty in imitation of Christ, and in obedience to the Gospel precepts." Humility, too, was commended as a distinctive virtue, which all should cultivate, being the groundwork of all other virtues. Hospitality was enjoined in the outpouring of national generosity, as well as of christian charity. When a guest arrived, the brethren went forth to meet him and bid him welcome. He was at once led to the church, and there thanks were returned to God for his safe journey. Thence he was led to the lodging or *hospitium* prepared for him, where water was presented to wash his feet, and food was set before him. Should he happen to arrive on a fast day, the fast was relaxed in his favour.

The brethren were summoned to the church or oratory by the sound of a bell, but except at midnight and morning and evening those engaged on the farm in manual work were not required to attend. The Lord's day and the great feasts of the saints were solemnized by rest from labour and by the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, and better food was used on these days. Mass was said in some seasons at Prime, in others at Sext, and the brethren received the Blessed Eucharist, which, in their veneration for this great Sacrament, was styled "the Sacred Mysteries of the Eucharist," or "the Mysteries of the Sacred Oblation," or "the Oblation of the Body of Christ." Should a bishop be present, he offered the holy sacrifice alone in token

of his superior dignity; if several priests were there, they united in offering the sacred oblation. The chief festival was the paschal solemnity; and the whole time from Easter to Whitsunday, called 'the Paschal days,' was regarded as a period of special joy and thankfulness.

The fasting discipline was regulated by special rule, and in its observance the holy founder was a model for all the brethren. Every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, except during 'the Paschal days,' was a fast day. Lent was strictly observed, and during this season, except on Sunday, the fast was every day prolonged till evening, when a meal of bread and honey, or whitemeats and vegetables was taken.

Celibacy was enjoined on all the clergy and brethren of the monastery: "There can be no doubt, writes Dr. Reeves, that celibacy was strictly enjoined on the community of Columba, and that the condition 'virgin in body and virgin in mind' was held up for imitation."[1]

When a fault was committed, the religious on his knees made public acknowledgment of it before the brethren, and received a proportionate penance from the superior. For the Sacrament of Penance each one chose a brother priest, who was styled his *anmchara*, or soul's-friend, who was to be his chief guide in all matters appertaining to the spiritual life. No matter what the rank of the penitent might be the public penance was proportionate to his crimes; sometimes it consisted merely of some short prayers, whilst at others it enjoined a special religious observance for seven years, or again the penitent was ordered to spend twelve years in tears and lamentations among the Britons, or to live in perpetual exile from his native land.

The sign of the Cross as "a saving sign" was in constant use. The religious armed themselves with it, not only before and after meals, but at every other duty of the day. Adamnan specially mentions that it was customary to make the sign of the cross over the pail before milking, and over the tools before using them. This holy sign was considered efficacious in banishing demons, in preserving from danger, and in obtaining favours from heaven. A large cross was placed at the entrance of the monastery, and it was customary to erect the same sacred standard "vexillum crucis" on the site of every remarkable occurrence. So fully, indeed, was this pious custom carried out in the course of centuries, that Iona became famous for its three

[1] *Reeves'* Adamnan, pag. 344.

hundred and sixty crosses. Even at sea, the cruciform arrangement of the masts with the yards was regarded as boding well for a favourable voyage.

The burial of the dead was regarded as a solemn religious duty of merit alike to the survivors and to those who had gone to their rest. The lively faith in the Resurrection rendered it a consideratien of importance to be buried among the honoured members of the society, and as the day of death was called the Natalis, or Birth-day, so the object in the choice of a burial-place was to prepare the place of Resurrection. The body of the deceased was laid out in the cell, wrapped in linen cloths; the *Exequiae* were then celebrated for his repose, and three days were spent in prayers and chaunting the praises of God. The printed rule of St. Columba expressly enjoins that the "Hymns for souls" were to be sung standing, and commands such "fervour in singing the office for the dead as if every faithful dead was a particular friend."[1]

The three great daily occupations of the community were prayer, reading, and manual labour. "Three labours in the day (thus runs St. Columba's rule) are prayers, work, and reading. The work to be divided into three parts, viz., thine own work and the work of thy place, as regards its real wants; secondly, thy share of the brethren's work; lastly, to help the neighbours by instruction, or writing, or sewing garments, or whatever labour they may be in want of, as the Lord says, Thou shalt not appear before me with empty hands." The chief study of the seniors was the Sacred Scripture, and one of the duties specially enjoined was to commit to memory the Book of Psalms. The copying of the Inspired Text held a foremost place in manual labour. For St. Columba himself this, as we have already seen, was a labour of love, and his successors seem to have emulated his skill as well as his zeal in this important work. Of St. Baethen, the immediate successor of the holy founder, it is recorded that he was most exact in copying the sacred Text, and in one transcript of the Gospels which he had made the mistake of only one letter could be discovered.

The ordinary garments of the community were two: viz, the *Cucula*, or Cowl, of coarse texture, made of wool, retaining its natural colour, and the Tunic, or under-habit, which was also white. If the weather was particularly severe an *Amphibalus* or double mantle was

1 *Skene*, Celtic Scotland. 11. 508.

permitted. When engaged at work on the farm, and when travelling the brethren wore sandals, which were not used within the monastery. Each cell was provided with a bed, which consisted of a straw-pallet, and a pillow also of straw.

The following are among the maxims for the every day guidance of the religious, as laid down in St. Columba's Rule :—

"Let thy mind be at all times prepared for red martyrdom.

"Let thy mind be fortified and steadfast for white martyrdom. Forgiveness from the heart to everyone. Constant prayers for those who trouble thee. Follow almsgiving before all things. Take not of food till thou art hungry. The love of God with all thy love and all thy strength. The love of thy neighbour as thyself. Abide in the Testaments of God throughout all times. Thy measure of prayer shall be until thy tears come. Or let thy measure of labour be till thy tears come. Or let it be the measure of thy work of labour, or of thy genuflections, that thy perspiration should abundantly come, if thy tears are not free."

The question has been asked, how were Holy Orders conferred in Iona, since the Abbot was not himself a Bishop? Some Presbyterian writers have fancied that they have in this a proof that ordination was conferred by Presbyters. But surely it might be supposed that a neighbouring Bishop could without great difficulty be called in, even from Ireland, on such an occasion, as we will see was, indeed, done in the consecration of St. Kentigern. At all events, there was no scarcity of Bishops within call of the Abbot of Iona. There were Bishops subject to his jurisdiction, as is clear from the testimony of Venerable Bede: "That island, he writes, has always by usage for its ruler an Abbot, who is a priest, to whose direction all the province, and even the Bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject."[1] It was, no doubt, a thing not in accordance with the usual discipline of the Church in the sixth century that Bishops should be subject to the jurisdiction of those who were not Bishops. It is likewise contrary to our usual discipline at the present day; nevertheless, we know that this usage has been from time immemorial permitted in the monastery of Monte Casino in Italy, and in other great Benedictine monasteries. From the narrative of Adamnan, in St. Columba's Life, it is manifest that Bishops were invited thither to confer Holy Orders, and at times, too,

1 *Bede*, Ecc. Hist. III. 4.

were numbered among the brethren of the monastery. Thus, in the case of Aedh Dubh, we find that Findchan, the founder of the monastery of Artchain, in the Island of Tiree, called in "a neighbouring Bishop" to ordain him priest.[1] On another occasion when a stranger from the Province of Munster, "who, says Adamnan, through humility did all he could to disguise himself, so that nobody might know he was a bishop," was invited, on the next Lord's Day, by Columba to join with him in consecrating the Body of Christ, that as two Priests they might break the Bread of the Lord together, Columba, on going to the Altar, discovered his rank, and thus addressed him: "Christ bless thee, brother; do thou break the Bread alone, according to the Episcopal rite, for I know now that thou art a Bishop. Why hast thou disguised thyself so long, and prevented our giving thee the honour which is due to thee."[2] This narrative contains not only a plain acknowledgment of the distinct order of Priest and Bishop, but also the holy founder's express declaration of the superior privilege, rank, and honour due to the Bishop. Instead of the episcopal office being ignored, or its proper function being usurped by Presbyters in Iona, "a greater respect, remarks Innes, was in some manner paid to Bishops in that monastery, and a greater distinction made betwixt them and priests in the celebration of the sacred mysteries, than in other churches of the West, even in those ages of ours; for, by this relation, it appears that in Ycolmkill a priest, even the abbot, St. Columba, himself, looked upon a bishop as so far superior to him that he would not presume, even though invited, to concelebrate or celebrate the holy mysteries jointly with him."[3] We must not omit to add that among the invocations of the Litany of St. Aengus, we find two groups of "the seven bishops of Iona;" and there are grave reasons for supposing that more than one of St. Columba's successors was consecrated Bishop whilst holding the office of Abbot of the monastery.

We may compendiate the lessons of the disciplinary observances of Iona in the words of Montalembert: "An honest, careful examination, he writes, of all the monastic peculiarities to be found in the Life of Columba reveals nothing in the way either of observances or of duties, which runs counter to the rules adopted by all the religious communities

[1] *Adamnan*, 1. 29.
[2] *Adamnan*, 1.35.
[3] Historians of Scotland, vi. 263.

of the sixth century from the traditions of the Fathers of the desert. But what we see clearly is: first, the necessity of the vow or solemnn profession to mark the definite admission of the postulant into the society after a trial of whatever duration; and secondly, the absolute conformity of the religious life followed by Columba and his monks with the precepts and rites of the Catholic Church in all ages. Texts, indisputable and undisputed, prove the existence of auricular confessions, of the invocation of saints, the universal trust in their protection, and in their action on temporal affairs, the celebration of the Mass, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the celibacy of the clergy, fasting and abstinence, prayers for the dead, the sign of the Cross, and a most diligent and profound study of the Scriptures. So fall the fancies of writers who think that in the Celtic Church they discern a primitive Christianity beyond the pale of Catholicism. So once more is the lie given to the absurd but inveterate prejudice which accuses our Fathers of having ignored or forbidden the study of the Bible."[1]

It only remains to add the succession of the Abbots of Iona as accurately compiled by Dean Reeves in his edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, which we have so freely used throughout this chapter.

	A.D.		A.D.
COLUMBA	563	...	597.
BAETHEN	597	...	600.
LAISREN	600	...	605.
FERGNA	605	...	623.
SEGHINE	623	...	652.
SUIBHNE	652	...	657.
CUMMIAN	657	...	669.
FAILBHE	669	...	679.
ADAMNAN	679	...	704.
CONAMHAIL	704	...	710.
DUNCHADH	710	...	717.
FAELCHU	717	...	724.
CILLENE FADA	724	...	726.
CILLINE DROICHTEACH	726	...	752.
SLEBHINE	752	...	767.
SUIBHNE	767	...	772.
BREASAL	772	...	801.

[1] *Montalembert*, Monks of the West, 111. 301.

	A.D.	A.D.
CONNACHTACH	801 ..	802.
CELLACH	802 ...	815.
DIARMAIT	815 ...	
INNRECHTACH	832 ...	854.
CELLACH	854 ...	865.
FERADHACH	865 ...	880.
FLANN	880 ..	891.
MAELBRIGHDE	891 ...	927.
DUBHTHACH	927 ...	938.
ROBHARTACH	938 ...	954.
DUBHDUIN	954 ...	959.
DUBHSCUILE	959 ...	964.
MUGHRON	964 ...	980.
MAELCIARAIN	980 ...	986.
DUNNCHADH	986 ...	989.
DUBHDALEITHE	989 ...	998.
MUIREDHACH	998 ...	1007.
FERDOMNACH	1007 ...	1008.
MAELMUIRE	1008 ...	1009.
MAELEOIN	1009 ...	1025.
MAELMUIRE	1025 ...	1040.
ROBARTACH	1040 ..	1057.
GIOLLACRIST	1057 ...	1062.
DOMHNALL	1062 ...	1098.
FERDOMHNACH	1098 ...	1114.
MAELBRIGHDE	1114 ...	1117.
CONANG	1117 ...	1128.
GIOLLA-ADHAMNAIN	1128 ...	1138.
MUIREDHACH	1138 ...	1150.
FLAITHBERTACH	1150 ...	1175.
GIOLLA-MAC-LIAG	1175 ...	1198.
GIOLLACRIST	1198 ...	1202.
AWLEY O'FERGHAIL	1203.	

IV.—IRISH SAINTS IN THE KINGDOM OF STRATHCLYDE.

The petty kingdom of Strathclyde is not without some features of special interest for the student of the early missions of the Irish Church. Within its territory we must seek for the birth-place of our national Apostle, St. Patrick. There, too, very many of our countrymen settled at an early period: several illustrious saints of Irish birth or Irish parentage chose it as the theatre of their missionary toil, and others hastened thither to spend a little time at least in its great monastery of Whitherne, desirous to perfect themselves in the paths of virtue, or to acquire the sublimest knowledge of divine truth.

Under the imperial rule of Rome, the Firths of Clyde and Forth were the northern boundary of Britain. The tides of the opposite seas, flowing far up these estuaries, formed a natural barrier against a sudden irruption of the barbarians of the north, and an earthen rampart, extending from sea to sea, erected in the year A.D. 139, served effectually to isolate the Picts in their wild mountain fastnesses. "This great work," writes Mr. Skene, the latest and most accurate explorer of Scottish antiquities, "consisted of a large rampart of intermingled stone and earth, strengthened by sods of turf, and must have originally measured twenty feet in height, and twenty-four feet in breadth at the base. It was surmounted by a parapet, having a level platform behind it for the protection of its defenders. In front there extended, along its whole course, an immense fosse, averaging about forty feet wide and twenty feet deep. To the southward of the whole was a military way, presenting the usual appearance of a Roman causewayed road. This great barrier extended from Bridgeness, near Carriden, on the Firth of Forth, to Chapel-hill, near West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, having, at intervals of about two miles, square forts or stations, which, judging from those that remain, amounted in all to nineteen in number, and between them were smaller watch-towers."[1] Additional military stations were added by the emperor Severus, and several watch-towers were also erected on the southern banks of the Clyde to guard the province against the incursions by sea of the Scottish rovers, who often infested the coast, from the not far distant shores of Ireland.[2]

[1] *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, i. 78.
[2] *Skene*, Chronicles of the Picts, pag. 224.

The Clyde and this Roman rampart formed also the northern boundary of the kingdom of Strathclyde, which, having the strong city of Alclyde, the modern Dumbarton, for its capital, stretched southwards along the western coast, and gradually absorbed the minor states which, after the abandonment of Britain, had sprung up in the imperial Province of Valentia. Its southern boundaries varied with the vicissitudes of war, being at one time limited to the Solway Firth, and at others extending as far as the Derwent or the Mersey. A line running through the centre of Great Britain will serve pretty accurately to mark the extent of Strathclyde towards the east in the days of its greatest prosperity.

The Roman writers of the fourth and fifth centuries inform us that the Picts and Britons found prompt allies in the Scots from Ireland, as well when resisting the attack of the Roman armies as when pursuing the imperial legions in their retreat from Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus makes mention of these Scots for the first time in the year A.D. 360, and he does not hesitate to style them "dangerous enemies of the empire." He moreover gives it plainly to be understood that they were even then old offenders, and that in conjunction with the Picts they had made repeated inroads on the territory south of the Clyde, the Roman legions being quite wearied in their pursuit.[1] He also tells us that in the year 364 the Picts and Scots again poured in upon the Roman province, and that they were joined by the Attacotts, whom he describes as a warlike people, "bellicosa hominum natio"; and that a third time, increasing in numbers and boldness, they in the year 368 renewed their attack, and after inflicting more than one defeat on the Roman troops advanced into the very heart of Britain, the Roman General and the Count of the maritime coast in one of the battles being numbered among the slain. The poet, Claudian, also mentions the Irish Scots among the Barbarian Confederates who assailed the empire in Britain towards the close of the fourth century: "all Ireland was astir, he writes, and the sea was covered with her hostile oars:"

". . . totam cum Scotus iernen
"Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

And when he subsequently commemorates the triumph of the Emperor Theodosius over the Barbarians, he tells us that the distant Thule

[1] *Ammian*, lib. xx., cap. 1., "praeteritarum cladium congerie fessas."

was soaked with Pictish blood, whilst "wintry Ireland wept over her Scottish slain:"

"Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis ierne."

It was in the year 299 that the brave Stilicho vanquished the Picts and Scots for the last time. The interval of peace, however, was but short, for, four years later, their incursions were renewed, and the Roman legions being recalled from the northern province, the whole fair territory of Clydesdale became a scene of ruin and desolation.

These incidental references by classic writers plainly show how close was the union of the Irish Scots with the Picts and Britons at this early period, and they prepare us to receive as strictly accurate the statements of our Irish and Scottish historians, when they of one accord attest that, commencing before the middle of the fourth century, the Irish Scots flocked in great numbers to the shores of Caledonia, many of them settling permanently there, and when they describe this emigration as made on so vast a scale in the district north of the Solway Firth that the territory became known as the district of the Gallgaedel, from whom was derived the name of Galloway, which it retains to the present day.

For more than a thousand years it was the uninterrupted tradition of Ireland and of Scotland that our Apostle, St. Patrick, was born in the valley of the Clyde, not far from the city of Alclyde. His father, Calphurnius, held the high Roman dignity of Decurio, and thus, whilst enjoying senatorial rank, discharged the duties of civil magistrate in this perilous outpost of the Empire. The family, however, had come from Celtic Gaul, and thither, too, St. Patrick was sent at an early age to be trained to learning and virtue at the monastery of his relative, St. Martin of Tours. Hence we may, without hesitation, adopt the words of Mr. Cashel Hoey, though entirely differing from him in his opinions regarding St. Patrick's birth-place: "Roman by his education in a province where Roman civilization had long prevailed, where the Latin language was spoken and the privileges of the Empire fully possessed—Roman, too, by the possession of nobility, which he himself declares, and of which his name was a curious commemoration—Roman, in fine, in the connection of his family, which he testifies, with the Roman Government and with the Church, St. Patrick was a Celt of Gaul by blood."[1] In his infancy he had been taught to regard as

[1] *Hoey*, Essay on the birth-place of St. Patrick, in "Essays on Religion and Literature," vol. 1, pag. 111.

barbarian enemies of the Empire those Irish Scots whose Apostle he was one day to be; but in the ways of Providence this contact with them must have served to make him familiar with their habits and language, a knowledge which was soon to be perfected amid the trials and hardships of his slavery.

I have said that for a thousand years it was the constant tradition of Ireland that we must look to the banks of the Clyde for the birth-place of our Apostle. In the beginning of this century the learned historian, Lanigan, pushed rudely this tradition aside, and with great ability and ingenuity endeavoured to prop up a theory which had already found some favour with Continental writers, that St. Patrick was born in Gaul, in the neighbourhood of Boulogne-sur-mer, and in such esteem have the labours of this ablest of our ecclesiastical historians been held that since his time most of our popular writers have not hesitated to adopt his opinion. It would be out of place to enter here into the difficulties which this intricate question presents. Suffice it to say that during the past half century many documents have come to light which illustrate the life of our Apostle, and serve to confirm more and more the ancient tradition of our country. We, therefore, in this must part company with Dr. Lanigan, and we gladly accept the more venerable tradition, confirmed, as it is, by Colgan, and John Lynch, and Usher, and Ware, as set forth in the following words of the Ogygia: "A very great bay of the Irish Western Ocean runs up the British country at a great distance from the west, which formerly divided the Britons from the Picts, and which was appointed as the ulterior Roman limits by Agricola. The celebrated fortress of Dunbriton stands on a very high and craggy clift, and commands a prospect of this bay between Cluide and Lennox. Cluide, called Glotta by Tacitus, is the river that runs through the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow, and empties itself in the bay of Dunbriton. From this river Dunbriton was formerly called *Arcluid*, that is, above Cluide; or *Alcluid*, that is, the rock of Cluid: and from the fortress Alcluid, the country or valley of Acluida, now Cluidesdale, is called: where below Dunbriton is the plain of Taburn, on which the town Nemther stood, which gave birth to the illustrious missionary, St. Patrick; and there he spent part of his youth, as we are assured by the ancient writers of his life."[1] So, too, the learned Innes writes: "It was about this time

[1] *O'Flaherty's* Ogygia, Hely's translation, page 317.

when the Romans, by the erection of the new province of Valentia, were in possession of all betwixt the walls, from Northumberland to the Friths, that the holy bishop, St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, was born upon the confines of the Roman province, at Kilpatrick, near Alcluyd or Dunbritton, in the north of Britain, as the learnedest among the Irish, as well as other foreign writers, do now agree."[1] The memory of St. Patrick was long cherished throughout Scotland, and, to speak only of the banks of the Clyde, we find that he was honoured as patron of the city of Dumbarton, and of the two towns east and west Kilpatrick, of Chapel-hill, and of the parish of Dalziel; and in this last-named parish, in Lanarkshire, the holy well of our Apostle was long a favourite place of pilgrimage.

It was among the Gallgaedhels of Galloway that another great ornament of the British Church, St. Ninian, was born about the year A.D. 360 Of his family[2] only two traditions have come down to us: one is the tradition of Scotland, that Ninian was nephew of St. Martin of Tours; the other is a tradition of the Irish Church, preserved by Usher, that it was in compliance with a request made to him by his mother, that in his old age he set out to associate himself with St. Palladius in the conversion of Ireland. We might, perhaps, from this fact conjecture that she herself belonged to the Gaelic race. Being arrived at the age of manhood, Ninian proceeded to Rome. Alaric had not as yet knocked at the gates of the devoted city. In the full majesty of imperial sway, it was still at the golden height of its wealth and material splendour; and its palaces and forums, and public monuments displayed all the profusion of magnificence with which the plunder of the world had enriched the proud mistress of nations. Pope Damasus then ruled the Church of God, and, with the blessings of peace, religion smiled on the seven hills. Silver and gold and precious marbles enriched the Basilicas devoted to Christian worship; the shrines of the martyrs were adorned with the most costly gems; the learning of St. Jerome and St. Ambrose added lustre to its sacred teaching, and Rome was even then not only the source of spiritual authority, but also the great centre of religious life, and of the love and affection of the Christian world. For about twenty years St. Ninian lived in Rome, visiting its sanctuaries, praying at the tombs

[1] *Innes* Civil and Eccles. Hist. of Scotland (ed. of Spalding Club), page 34.

[2] However this may be, certain it is that under the name of Monennio St. Ninian is honoured in our most ancient Martyrologies.

of the apostles,[1] pursuing every exercise of heroic piety, and drinking in, day by day, at its salutary fountains the knowledge of divine truth. Being at length consecrated bishop, he set out for his native district of Galloway, to merit by his sanctity and missionary labours the title of its chief apostle.

On his homeward journey he remained for some time at Marmoutiers to enjoy the heavenly lessons of wisdom of its great founder, St. Martin of Tours; and Aelred, in his life of our saint, particularly mentions that he brought with him from that monastery some skilled masons, by whose aid he desired to erect in his native district a church on the model of those which he had seen in Italy and France. He chose for its site a sheltered spot on the southern promontory of Galloway, enclosed on all sides, except to the north, by the sea, and commanding a distant view of the heights of Cumberland and of the Isle of Man. The church was built of chiselled stone, a style of edifice, as Bede informs us, till then unheard in North Britain, from which circumstance it became known as *Candida Casa*, and in the British language it was called *Whitherne* (that is, 'the White House'), which name the district retains to the present day. We learn from Venerable Bede that, whilst engaged in erecting this church, Ninian received the intelligence of St. Martin's death, and so convinced was he of the sanctity of that holy man that he at once chose him for his patron in his missionary labours, and dedicated the church to God under his invocation. This fixes the date of the erection of Whitherne in A.D. 401, which Usher proves to have been the year of St. Martin's decease.

Interesting and ornamental remains of the mediæval cathedral of Galloway, supposed to have been erected on the site of the original church, may still be seen at the town of Whitherne. Some antiquarians, however, are of opinion that the Isle of Whitherne, which in former times was probably connected with the mainland, was the site of the first building erected by St. Ninian. It has still the ruins of a very old chapel, but not even a moulding is left to indicate the date of its erection.

[1] St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Ezechiel, gives us the following account of his student life in Rome: "Cum essem Romae puer et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum caeteris ejusdem aetatis et propositi diebus Dominicis sepulchra Apostolorum et Martyrum circuire, crebroque cryptas ingredi, quae in terrarum profundo defossae, ex utraque parte ingredientium, per parietes habent corpora sepultorum, et ita obscura sunt omnia, ut propemodum illud propheticum compleatur: Descendunt ad infernum viventes." (*Opp.* tom. v. pag. 433).

I need not dwell on the apostolic labours of St. Ninian. He penetrated into the Pictish territory far beyond the British frontier, and at his preaching, as Bede attests, many of the southern Picts forsook idolatry and became fervent children of God.[1] He was remarkable, like most of the early Celtic saints, for his austerities, and in particular it is recorded of him that, throughout the whole time of Lent, he was accustomed to partake of nothing but the poorest fare, and from sunset on Holy Thursday till after he had offered the holy Sacrifice on Easter-day, he wholly abstained from all corporal refection. Like St. Martin, he loved to withdraw himself from time to time from the busy world in which he laboured, to renew his spirit by meditation on heavenly things. The cave is still pointed out on the seashore of Wigtownshire in Galloway, whither he was wont to retire. It is placed high up in a white lofty precipitous range of rocks, against which the impetuous waves of the stormy Irish sea unceasingly spend their fury. The cave is open to the winds and spray, but runs inward about twenty feet. At the mouth it is twelve feet high, and about as many in width, and it is only accessible by climbing from rock to rock.

St. Ninian's preaching was attended with many miracles. Among others, a pagan chieftain of Galloway, named Tuduvallus, which corresponds to the Celtic name Tuathal, was struck with blindness for his resistance to the Faith, but upon his repentance was restored to his sight by the prayers of the holy man. St. Ninian's death is marked by Scottish writers in the year A.D 432; his remains were interred in St. Martin's Church, and so many were the miracles performed there through the intercession of our saint, so sweet was his memory among his spiritual children, and so great their veneration for him as their own apostle, that throughout all Scotland the church and monastery became known only by St. Ninian's name.

The saint is honoured in our Irish Kalendars on the 16th of September, under the name Monennio, and it is a very ancient tradition, preserved in the Festology of St. Ængus and other authentic records, that a few years before his death he came to Ireland to aid in the missionary enterprise of Palladius, and erected at Cluain Conaire, now Cloncurry, in the north of the present county Kildare, an oratory and religious institution, which reproduced in miniature the great church and monastery of Whitherne. Bishop Forbes gives a list of more

[1] *Bede*, Hist. Eccl. iii. 4.

than sixty churches dedicated to him throughout Scotland; and Chalmers, in his Caledonia, writes that "the name of St. Ninian was venerated in every district of Scotland and in the Northern and Western Isles."

Such was the fame of Candida Casa, for the piety and learning of its holy inmates, that for centuries it was popularly known in Ireland as "Magnum Monasterium," the great monastery. Innumerable pilgrims from our shores visited it, and many of our early saints made it for a time at least their home. Thus St. Finian, of Moville, lived there for some years, desirous of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures and of the rules of the monastic life.[1] St. Enda, so famed for his island sanctuary and school at Arann, by the advice of his sister, St. Franchea, became also an humble religious within its walls. St. Tighernach, of Clones, St. Eoghan, Bishop of Ardstraw, St. Rioch, who is numbered among our Kilkenny patrons, and St. Talmach, all spent a portion of their lives in the fervent practice of penance and piety within its hallowed enclosure. St. Manchan, patron of Limerick, was at first a student there, and subsequently became one of its brighest ornaments and most learned teachers: and there also St. Mugint composed his beautiful penitential prayer, which was much used in the early Irish church, and is preserved in the Book of Hymns.[2]

The memory of some of these saints was long cherished in Galloway, and Dr. Forbes writes that "the christianizing influence of Ireland was strongly felt" throughout the whole of that territory.[3]

St. Modenna, also called Moninna, was an Irish virgin saint for whom the early Scottish Church cherished a special devotion. She flourished towards the close of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, for her death is marked in the annals of Ulster in the year 516, on the 6th of July, on which day her name is entered in all our Martyrologies. St. Ængus thus commemorates her in his Felire:

"Moninde of Slieve-Cuillin,
A beautiful pillar;
A bright pure victory she gained,
The sister of Muire-Mary."

She was born in the district of Conaille, and had the privilege of

1 "In ejus sede quæ Magnum vocabatur Monasterium regulas et institutiones monasticæ vitae aliquot annis probus monac us didicit, atque in sanctarum Scripturarum paginis non parum proficiens insudavit &c," *Colgan*, Acta SS. pag. 438.

2 *Todd* Lib. Hym., part 1., pag. 94.

3 *Forbes*, Historians of Scotland, vol. v., pag. xlii.

receiving the virgin-habit from St. Patrick. She lived for some time near Carlingford, and then proceeding to a solitary island off the western coast of Ireland, placed herself under the spiritual guidance of St. Ibar. With St. Brigid she was united in the closest bonds of spiritual friendship, and she received from her the gift of a silver shrine which was long held in great veneration. Returning to her native province, she erected a cell at the hill of Faughart, and a little later retired to a desert place at the foot of Slieve-Cuillin (now Slieve-Gullion), where, at Killeevy, three miles from Newry, the venerable ruins of her oratory may still be seen.[1] The cyclopean door-ways of massive construction which still remain, and the round tower which, till the last century, stood at the south side, incorporated with the wall of the oratory, sufficiently mark the early period to which these hallowed ruins must be referred. Her life by Conchubran, to which Usher attaches great weight, relates that she proceeded to Scotland and lived there for many years. The greatest of her religious foundations in North Britain was at Chilnecase, in Galloway, where for centuries a flourishing community of nuns perpetuated her virtues and lived faithfully in the service of God. Six other Scottish churches are also known to have been founded by her, three of which—viz, at Dundevenal and Dumbarton, and Dunpeleder—were situate in the kingdom of Strathclyde, the others being at the castle of Strivelin, and in Edinburg, and at Longforgan, near Dundee, where Scottish tradition supposes her to have rested in peace. Capgrave writes that in North Britain, as in Ireland, she led a most penitential life, and that, clothed in rough garments, and with her feet bare, she made a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles in Rome. The learned antiquarians of Scotland at the present day have not failed to recognise the merits of this great saint and to illustrate her history. Mr. Skene has successfully identified her with Saint Edana, or Medana,[2] who is named in the Breviary of Aberdeen, on the 19th of November, as a virgin saint and a native of Ireland, and this identification has led him to an important discovery. Edinburg is commonly supposed to have been so called from a fort erected there by King Edwin, but long

[1] The name of this place was originally Kill-Sleibhe-Cuillin, from which in common use it became known as *Kill-Sleibhe*, pronounced *Killsevy*.

[2] The name Medana is formed from Mo-Edana, by contraction of which we have many instances in the lives of our early saints. Thus St. Ita's name becomes Mida, &c.

before that monarch's time St. Edana's sanctuary there was a place of pilgrimage, and it is, in truth, from this virgin saint of Ireland that the modern names of Maiden Castle and Edinburgh are derived. In the Aberdeen Breviary we read an interesting legend relating to our saint. One day being pursued by a rude soldier, she climbed into a tree, and, being told that it was her beauty which attracted him, she plucked out her eyes and cast them to him. The soldier was at once filled with remorse, and repented of his wicked course, and the pious virgin, descending from the tree, washed her wounds in a neighbouring fountain, and her sight was miraculously restored.

One of the most interesting of the hallowed places that now remain connected with this saint is her cave chapel, situated close to the Mull of Galloway, in the parish which from her derives its name, Kirkmaiden, which I find thus described by a Scottish writer:—"Descending a high and steep rock of the shore, you find the cave-chapel secludedly shelved in the face of the rock, and looking down upon huge, jagged rocks, lying huddled in heaps at the foot of the crag, and running out in long pointed ridges a good bit into the bay. To its situation its escape from total destruction must be attributed. Nevertheless, it is now sadly dilapidated. The roof, probably rudely arched, has long since disappeared. The artificially-builded portions consist only of the wall fronting the sea, and that which is laid up behind against the face of the cliff, the side ones being naturally supplied by great jutting slabs of whin, or whatever it is. The area of the cell is nearly a square of very small size, the builded work of great thickness, and rudely made up of uncemented stones of all sizes and shapes. The wall facing the sea contains traces of a door-way, and an inwardly-splayed window, the clear of which is no more than nine inches wide. In the other wall the door-way is happily entire, forty-four inches in height, with slightly-sloping jambs, and long narrow stones roughly set over its massive lintel, in form of an arch. The cave to which this aperture gave entrance is of very irregular form, small and low in the roof. Of what height the roof of the cell or chapel was it is impossible to say; but, as in a building so diminutive, it could not have been great; it is puzzling to find the inner, or cliff wall, reaching as much as twenty feet up from the ground. If by this we are led to believe that another apartment—an upper sanctuary, or dormitory, or refugium, whilst the wild Picts were down on the shore

—rose above the cell, what would we not now-a-days give to have it entire ?"[1]

There is yet another saint of Strathclyde, to whom we must devote more than a passing notice. St. Kentigern—popularly known by the name of St. Mungo—is justly reckoned among the chief patron saints of Scotland. He was born about the year 514. His mother was Irish, and in the saint's life her name is presented to us under the form of Thenew or Thenog. As yet a pagan, she had, by intercourse with Christian friends, become acquainted with the truths of faith, and had learned to honour with special reverence, and to invoke with earnest devotion the holy Mother of God. Being accused of a grievous crime, she was sentenced to be cast down from a high rock called Kep-duff in the Lammermoor. In this terrible trial she had recourse to the Blessed Virgin, and by her protecting aid was miraculously saved from death. This, however, did not secure her pardon. By order of the chieftain of the district, she was placed in a little coracle[2] at the mouth of the river Aberlassig (now Aberlady), and being conducted into the open sea, beyond the Isle of May, was there abandoned to her fate. "If she be worthy of life," he said, "the God whom she invokes will free her, if He wills, from the perils of the sea." Here again the powerful aid of the Blessed Virgin did not forsake her. Without sail or oar the little boat drifted to a sandy beach at Culenross (the modern Culross), not far from the hermitage where St. Servan led a life of prayer and penitential exercises. She found shelter in a cave close to the beach, and there she gave birth to Kentigern. The shepherds from the adjoining hills ministered food and clothing to the mother and child, and after a time brought her to St. Servan's cell. On learning her miraculous preservation, he took both mother and son under his protection, and, administering Baptism to them, declared that thenceforth he would be a father to them. To the child he gave the name of Kentigern (*i.e.*, *Ceann*, head or chief, and *Tighearn*, lord or master), prophetically announcing that he would one day be the great leader and spiritual guide of the people of all Strathclyde. As the child advanced in years such was his amiability, and so endeared was he to everyone by the sweetness of his virtues, that his holy master was accustomed to call him by the name *Munghu* (which in

[1] *Muir's* Lighthouse, p. 65-68.
[2] "Parvissimo lembo de corio juxta morem Scottorum confecto." *Vita.* cap. 3.

Celtic means an amiable and beloved one), and by this endearing name he continued to be generally known in after years.

As for Thenog, she made great proficiency in the paths of heaven under the guidance of St. Servan, and, becoming famed for sanctity, merited in after times a place in the Scottish kalendars. A chapel was built upon the spot where she had given birth to Kentigern, and the ruins of a mediæval church may still be traced there. At an early period a church was also dedicated to her in Glasgow, but it was demolished at the Reformation period. St. Enoch's Square now marks its site, and seldom do the thrifty Scotchmen of the present day advert that it is from St. Thenog, our Irish saint, their busy mart is named, and that thus in some little way at least they unconsciously pay a tribute of honour to her memory.

St. Kentigern, as the writer of the Life informs us, made rapid strides in virtue and learning at St. Servan's school, for "there were bestowed upon him by the Father of Light, from whom is every good and perfect gift, an apt intelligence and a docile heart." The armorial bearings of the city of Glasgow perpetuate the memory of one of the miracles performed at this time by St. Kentigern. On a shield argent is a robin-redbreast. This little bird was wont to perch itself and sing upon St. Servan's shoulder, but one of St. Kentigern's companions pulled off its head, and, envying the special affection shown to Kentigern by their master, threw it into his lap. When St. Servan approached, the holy youth made the sign of the cross upon the bird and breathed a fervent prayer, and in vindication of his sanctity the little red-breast gathered together its limbs, flapped its wings, and, resting on St. Servan's shoulder, began to sing once more.

Having attained the years of manhood, the saint took his departure from St. Servan, and, crossing the estuary of the Forth, pursued his way to "Cathures, which is now called Glasgow." As he journeyed on, he found at a place called Carnock, an old man, who, having led a long life of holy conversation, had received the promise from heaven that he would not die till he was visited by a servant of God. As the saint now entered the dwelling, the old man intoned the Nunc Dimittis, and "making his confession, and being anointed with the oil of forgiveness, and strengthened by the vivifying Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood,"[1] he joyfully closed his eyes in peace. At

[1] *Vita :* cap. ix.

Cathures, Kentigern built for himself a cell on the banks of the Mellendonor, close by a cemetery, which had been blessed by St. Ninian, and there he lived in great holiness of life. It is specially recorded that he planted the cemetery with trees, and as late as the year 1500 we find "the trees of St. Kentigern" used as a landmark in the deeds of the city of Glasgow. Disciples soon gathered around him, and he erected for them a rude monastery, with an earthen rath and wattled church. This chosen spot, thus blessed by SS. Ninian and Kentigern, and hallowed a few years later by the presence of St. Columbkille, was marked out for special blessings from God, and we cannot wonder that it should be styled in after times "the bright and lovely spot," for such is the meaning of the name—*Glasgow*. As the city and canton of St. Gall's, in Switzerland, had their origin in the cell of the Irish missionary, Saint Gall, and Armagh grew up around the church blessed by St. Patrick, and Wurzburg around St. Killian's tomb, so from the humble beginnings of St. Kentigern's monastery has sprung up the queenly city which adorns the banks of the Clyde, and with its 600,000 inhabitants now ranks as second city of the Empire.

Owing to the distracted state of Strathclyde, arising in part from the invasion of the Saxons, and in part from the perpetual intestine wars among the petty princes of the British race, irreligion and iniquity had undone in great measure the holy work of St. Ninian, and paganism—once more in the ascendant—seemed to rule supreme throughout a considerable part of the kingdom. Now, however, the king and people were moved by the example and the lessons of Kentigern, and with one accord asked him to become the shepherd and pastor of their souls. Kentigern for a while was unwilling to assume this charge, and pleaded his inexperience, for he had not as yet attained his thirtieth year. But they over-ruled all his difficulties, and, as the Life takes care to add, "sending for a Bishop to Ireland," Kentigern was duly consecrated, and was solemnly enthroned as their bishop. We are not told the name of the Irish bishop thus chosen to impose hands on Kentigern, and to cement thus early that spiritual union of Glasgow with the Irish Church which has continued to the present day; for Glasgow is even now quickened by Celtic faith in the renewed splendour of the hierarchy of the Scottish Church. It is still a great centre of Irish piety, and numbers almost as many Catholics among its citizens as are found in all the rest of Scotland.

The consecration of St. Kentigern is generally assigned to the year 540. There were many holy bishops at that time in Ireland. The first order of the saints of our country, who were for the most part bishops, did not close till the year 544, and not to mention others of less note, there were St. Ailbhe of Emly; St. Fedhlemidh of Kilmore; St. Lugadh, of Connor, and St. Nathy of Achonry, still living and watching over their spiritual flocks, and it is not improbable that it was one of those that consecrated St. Kentigern. For a while peace and sunshine smiled on the labours of our saint, many of the pagan inhabitants were brought to the paths of Christian life, and many, too, who had been deceived by heretical teaching[1] were reconciled to the one true church. Some of the details of St. Kentigern's life at this period, as set forth by his biographer, are full of the deepest interest. He made the visitations of his vast diocese on foot, and from Loch Lomond and Stirling, to Windermere and beyond Appleby, he went about with his disciples, everywhere preaching the faith of Christ. From his episcopal consecration till his death, his food was bread, milk, fruits, herbs and water, breaking his fast only once in three or four days, and abstaining from flesh-meat and wine. For his dress he wore, besides a hair-shirt, a long garment of goat-skin, with a narrow hood like that of a fisherman, and over it an alb and stole. He carried in one hand a pastoral staff of simple wood bent backwards, and in the other his ritual or the scriptures, ever ready to exercise his sacred ministry. His couch was more like a sepulchre than a bed, and was of rock, with a stone for his pillow. He rose in the night, and chaunted psalms and hymns till the second cock-crowing. He then plunged into a cold stream, and with his thoughts fixed on heaven finished the recital of the psalter. During Lent he retired to desert places, and how he was fed there was a mystery to his disciples. In one of his instructions, however, he instanced that a certain person whom he knew had lived sometimes on roots, and sometimes had been so sustained by the power of God as to live without any food; and, the Life adds, none doubted that he spoke of himself. He returned to his episcopal duties on Holy Thursday, spent the two following days in meditation on the Passion of our Blessed Lord, and celebrated Easter-Day with great solemnity and joy. Leading such a life of self-denial and holiness, we cannot be surprised that many

1 *Vita*, cap. xix.

miracles accompanied his preaching. Thus, on one occasion, when Morcant, the ruler of the district, had said to him, in mockery, before his attendants—"If, trusting in thy God, thou canst transfer to thy dwelling all the corn that is in my barns and granaries, I will gladly be obedient to thee, and will, for the future, grant all thy requests." Soon after, the waters of the Clyde, overflowing their banks, surrounded the barns of the king, and drawing them into its own channel, carried them along, and deposited them upon the banks not far from the Mellendonor, where our saint dwelt.

St. Kentigern had much to suffer for a time from this wicked Prince, so much so that the death of Morcant was attributed to Divine vengeance for the insults offered to our saint. After the death of this chieftain, Satan stirred up new commotions against our saint, and plots were laid against his life, wherefore he deemed it prudent to withdraw for a time from Strathclyde, and to seek an asylum in the monasteries of Wales. As he journeyed thither, he turned aside at Carlisle, for he heard that "there were many in that mountainous district given to idolatry, or ignorant of the divine law." Carlisle was, from the time of the Romans, an important city. From them it received the name of Luguvallium (contracted to *Luel* by the Angles, and subsequently, when fortified, called *Caer-Luel*), and even in the time of Bede retained the traces of its former splendour; and its walls and ornamental structures betokened the munificence of its imperial masters. St. Kentigern remained here till he brought the erring inhabitants to the light of truth. Not far distant, at a place thickly planted with trees, he erected a cross, whence it took the name of Crossfield (now Crosthwaite), and in later times a noble basilica was erected there, "to the name of Blessed Kentigern." From thence he directed his steps along the seashore, scattering everywhere the seeds of the Faith, and gathering a rich harvest to God. Eight churches in Cumberland still bear the saint's name; and at Bromfield, close by the church, there is a spring of pure water called St. Mungo's Well.

St. David's was at this time at the head of all the monasteries of Wales, and Kentigern was welcomed by its holy founder, not as a disciple, but as a father and master. Caswallawn, King of Wales, and his son, Maelgwyn, soon offered to the pilgrim bishop a site wheresoever he would choose for a new monastery. He went around

the land, says his biographer, and finally selected a spot on the banks of a river, and there disciples flocked around him. The work of erecting the new monastery was distributed amongst them. Some levelled the ground, and cleared the forest, others dug the foundations of the church, and fitted the planks of the trees together, for Kentigern directed them to erect the church of wood "after the fashion of the Britons, seeing they could not yet build of stone, nor were they so wont to do."[1] Thus was founded the great monastery of Llanelwy, called in after times St. Asaph's. The stream on whose banks it stood was called the Elwy, and the valley was named the Valley of the Clyde, probably from some fancied resemblance to the river and valley where he had before fixed his original seat. The piety of Kentigern was not less fruitful in Wales than it had been in Strathclyde. "There flocked to his monastery old and young, rich and poor, to take upon themselves the easy yoke and light burden of the Lord. Nobles and men of the middle class brought to the saint their children to be trained and educated. He divided his disciples into three classes of religious observances. Three hundred, who were unlettered, he appointed to the duty of agriculture, the care of the cattle, and the other necessary duties outside the monastery. To another three hundred he assigned the duties of manual work within the enclosure; and the remaining monks who were lettered, he appointed to the service of the altar by day and by night, and seldom were they allowed to depart from the sanctuary, abiding there as in the holy place of God. But those who were more advanced in wisdom and holiness, and who were fitted to teach others, he was accustomed to take with him when he went forth to perform the duties of his episcopal office."[2] Such is the picture of this Celtic monastery of St. Kentigern, which his Life presents to us, and we cannot be surprised that it was soon reckoned among the chief centres of piety in North Wales. When the saint at length took his departure from Wales, he chose a monk of the monastery, named Asaph, to take his place, and the fame of this pious man for learning and sanctity in after years justified the choice. The Cathedral Church was dedicated to God under the invocation of this saint, and many places in the adjoining territory still bear his name, as Lan-Asa (St. Asaph's Church) Ffynnon-

1 *Vita*, cap. xxiv.
2 *Vita*, cap. xxv.

Asa (St. Asaph's Well), Pantasa (St. Asaph's hollow), &c.[1] His memory is also cherished in the island of Skye, and among the springs with which that island abounds there is one considered superior to all the rest, and is called *Tober-Asheg*, *i.e.*, the miraculous well of St. Asaph.

In the meantime great changes had taken place in Strathclyde. Providence had raised up an illustrious prince—Rederech—to restore peace in that distracted territory. He was surnamed *Hael*, or *Hial*, *i.e.*, 'The Bountiful,'[2] and it seems to be now unquestioned that he was of Irish parentage, for his father's name was Tuathal, and his mother Eithne in the Genealogies of the saints is expressly styled *Gwyddles*, *i.e.*, 'the Irishwoman.' Aided by Aedan, King of Scottish Dalaradia, and by Maelgwyn of Wales, he defeated the pagan king Gwendoleu at the great battle of Ardderyd, in the year 573, and by his wisdom and valour soon moulded all the contending tribes of Strathclyde into one powerful kingdom.

Rederech was a Christian. He had been instructed in the divine truths by the disciples of St. Patrick in Ireland, as St. Kentigern's Life expressly records, and being baptized there had been solidly grounded in the Faith.[3] It was one of his first cares to invite St. Kentigern to return to his kingdom. The saint set out with joy, and Rederech, hearing of his approach, went forth accompanied by a numerous retinue to welcome him on his return. They met at a place called Holdelm, now Hoddan, in Dumfrieshire, and as an immense multitude soon assembled, St. Kentigern embraced the opportunity to address them; and from his discourse, as registered in his Life, we may gather what were the main features of the paganism into which the inhabitants had fallen. Three things he specially dwelt on: 1st, they should not adore the elements, for these were not self-originated, but owed their existence to the one true God, who made all material things for the use and service of man. 2nd, the idols should not be worshipped—they were the work of their own hands, fitter far to be burned than to receive religious worship. 3rd, Woden, whose worship the Angles had introduced, was no deity, but a mere mortal man, the

[1] *Thomas'* 'History of the Diocese of St. Asaph.' page 55.

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth latinizes his name *Rodarchus Largus*; and he is honoured in the Welsh Triads as one of the "three liberal princes of Britain." *Triad* xxx., Myvyr, Archæol., ii., page 63.

[3] *Vita*, "A discipulis Sancti Patricii in Hibernia baptisatus fide Christianissima," cap. xxix.

father and leader of one of their tribes, consigned to the grave like other men. We are also told that the saint, when beginning his discourse, pronounced the solemn words: "Let all who obstruct the salvation of this people, depart hence," whereupon a number of frightful spectres fled away in the sight of all the people, who were filled with astonishment and holy fear.

Holdelm, the place where Kentigern had thus met his royal patron, was chosen by him as his residence for a time, and thence he made missionary excursions among the Picts, and in the eastern districts of Scotland, north of the Firth of Forth, where he erected many churches. After some time he returned to his original seat at Glasgow, and continued there to guide his spiritual children. Several ancient churches still bear his name in various parts of Scotland. They are particularly found in Aberdeenshire and Lothian, and in the districts evangelized by his master, St. Servan. St. Kentigern used to erect crosses wherever he preached. Two of these were still extant in the 12th century—one in the cemetery of the church of the Holy Trinity, the other at Lotherwerd. Seven times he made the pilgrimage to Rome, and, on the occasion of his last visit, enjoyed a long conference with the holy Pontiff, St. Gregory the Great, who bestowed upon him copies of the sacred scriptures and relics of the saints, and many ornaments for the altar, and other rich gifts.

In extreme old age,—knowing that his hour was at hand,—he summoned his disciples around him, and exhorted them to the observance of their rule, mutual charity, hospitality to the poor, and study; and he left to them, as his last bequest, that they should shun the communion of heretics, and be ever united with the Roman See. Then he blessed each one in turn, consigning them to the tutelage of the Blessed Trinity, and to the protection of the holy Mother of God. He then gathered himself upon his stone couch, and arming himself with the sign of the cross, soon after rested in peace on Sunday, the 13th of January, in the year 603.[1] The well of our saint still exists in the Cathedral, and his body is supposed to lie buried in the crypt. St. Kentigern's bell was preserved till after the period of the Reformation, but cannot now be traced.[2]

[1] This seems the most probable date of St. Kentigern's death. Chalmers, in his Caledonia, writes, "St. Kentigern died on the 13th January, 601, after performing for the improvement of the people all that zeal could suggest, or perseverance could execute." However, the 13th of January, in 601, did not fall on Sunday.

[2] Reg. Ep. Glas., vol. ii., page 334.

Several relics of the saint are mentioned in the ancient Inventories of the Cathedral of Glasgow, but they are supposed to have been destroyed by the vandalism of John Knox and his followers in the sixteenth century.

The name of St. Servan has been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding pages in connection with St. Kentigern. He was a disciple of St. Patrick, and sailed for Scotland, where he erected a monastery on the winding shores of the Forth, near the town of Culross, and trained many fervent souls in the paths of perfection. He cherished Kentigern, as we have seen, with special affection, and when that saint departed from Culross, he went after him, crying out: "Alas, my dearest son! light of mine eyes! staff of my old age! wherefore dost thou desert me? Call to mind the days that are past, and remember the years that are gone by; how I took thee up when thou camest forth from thy mother's womb, nourished thee, taught thee, trained thee, even unto this hour. Do not despise me, nor neglect my grey hairs, but return, that in no long time thou mayst close mine eyes."[1] And when St. Kentigern nevertheless continued his course, Servan again cried aloud, asking to be permitted to accompany him, and to be reckoned among his disciples; but Kentigern replied—I go whither God calls me, but do thou return, I pray thee, my father, to thine own disciples, that in thy holy presence they may be trained in sacred doctrine, guided by thy example, and restrained by thy discipline.[2] Wherefore, Servan, returning to his monastery, awaited the day of his repose, and soon after was gathered to his fathers. He is honoured in the Scottish Kalendars on the 1st of July. By our Irish writers he is called St. Serb, whilst in some parts of Scotland his name has been corrupted to *Sair* and *Sare*.[3] At Culross, till a late period, an annual procession was held in his honour. "Early on the morning of the feast (thus runs the official account) all the inhabitants —men and women, young and old—assembled and carried green branches through the town, decking the public places with flowers, and spent the rest of the day in festivity."[4]

One of the most illustrious of St. Kentigern's disciples was St. Conval, who inherited in an eminent degree the zeal and sanctity of

1 *Vita S. Kentig.*, cap viii.
2 *Vita*, ibid.
3 See Forbes's Kalendars, page 447.
4 *Old Stat. Account* vol. xviii. page 649.

his great Master. He was the son of an Irish chieftain,[1] and forsaking his country and friends, through the desire of winning souls to God, sailed for the banks of the Clyde,[2] and enrolling himself among the clergy of St. Kentigern, soon proved himself a devoted missioner, and became a bright ornament of the Scottish Church. In many of the mediæval rocords he is styled Archdeacon of Glasgow, and by his untiring labours he merited to be honoured as a second Apostle of that great city. Each memorial of the saint was long cherished by the faithful to whom he ministered. The rock on which he landed on the seashore, and on which in after years he often used to pray, was held in the greatest veneration, and several churches erected under his invocation attested the reverence and fond affection in which his hallowed memory was held.[3] It is recorded that he visited his countryman, King Aidan, of Dalriada, and was welcomed by that prince with the highest honours. The purport of St. Conval's visit was probably to secure the aid of King Aidan for the religious works in which he was engaged south of the Clyde; and we are further told that, at that pious monarch's request, St. Conval passed into the Pictish territory, and there gained many souls to God. He also visited St. Columba, and seems for a time to have been associated with that great saint in his missionary labours.

He is venerated as patron at Inchinnan, in Renfrewshire, on the Clyde, about seven miles below Glasgow, and Boece writes that the saint's relics were still preserved there in his time.[4] Near the ancient fort of Inchinnan there stood, till a comparatively late period, an ancient Celtic cross, erected in honour of St. Conval. Now its base alone remains.[5] He was also venerated at Cumnock and at Ochiltree. The parish of Pollockshaws had also our St. Conval for its patron, although his feast was there kept in the month of May. "Its ancient church, thus writes the learned Cosmo Innes, probably stood beside

[1] Forbes's Kalendars, page 315.

[2] "Ad clodum flumen, cujus ager propter omnia fructuum genera, aliasque amoenitates, Scotiæ paradisus habetur." *Bollandists*, Acta SS. Maii, tom. iv., page 182.

[3] The ancient Martyrology of Aberdeen gives us the following eulogy of St. Conval:—"In Scocia apud Inchenan Sancti Convalli confessoris cujus prædicatio præclaram sanctitatis suæ excellentiam signorum choruscatione posteris morum præbet incrementum."

[4] *Boetius*, His . Scot.: "Convalli divi Kentigerni discipuli Reliquiæ celebri monumento in Inchennam haud procul a Glascuensi civitate a Christiano populo hactenus in magna habentur veneratione:" lib. ix.

[5] *Stuart*: Sculptured stones, &c., ii., 38.

the castle upon the bank of the Cart. It was dedicated to St. Convallus, the pupil of St. Kentigern, whose feast was celebrated on the 18th of May." A church bearing St. Conval's name, existed at Eastwood down to a comparatively late period. The burial ground attached to it is still used, but no trace of the ancient church now remains. Near the burial ground there was a ruin known as the "Auld House," which with its enclosure was called "St. Conval's Dowry." His memory—after having been forgotten for three hundred years—has been revived in our days by the erection of a beautiful church at Pollokshaws, dedicated to God under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and St. Conval. The site is a truly noble one; and the traditions of the district in which it stands point to many events of Catholic interest. "The new church," writes the present zealous pastor, "stands on the top of a hill, within a gunshot of, and looking over upon the fatal battlefield of Langside, where three hundred years ago, the death-knell of Catholicity in this country was said to have been sounded, on the occasion of the final defeat of its Catholic Queen, Mary. This defeat left Calvinism in the ascendant, by whose infatuated followers the old parish church was razed to the ground, and almost every local vestige of the ancient worship obliterated." The new church on the top of the hill is a sufficient proof that Catholicity has arisen from the tomb, and that the light of divine truth shines once more upon the children of St. Conval.

Contemporary with St Conval was the holy Irish virgin, St. Bea. At an early age she sailed for the Northumbrian coast, attracted thither by the fame of the virtues of the illustrious bishop, St. Aidan. Having received the religious veil at his hands, she chose a desert island for her retreat, where a flourishing monastery soon grew up around her, celebrated for its piety throughout the whole kingdom of Northumbria. After some time she prayed to be relieved from the charge of this monastery, and to have St. Hilda appointed abbess in her stead, and this request being granted her, she proceeded to the kingdom of Strathclyde, and on the coast of Cumberland, in the year 656, founded another monastery, which gave name to the town of St. Bee's, and for nine hundred years preserved the fragrance of the piety of its holy foundress. Rich grants were made to it in the course of centuries, not the least remarkable being "the grant of the island of Nendrum, with its appurtenances," off the coast of Ulster, made by

John de Courcy, in the year 1178.[1] St. Bea died there in the odour of sanctity about the year 650, and her feast was kept throughout Britain and Scotland on the 31st of October. Many miracles were performed at her shrine, and around her monastery the pretty town of St. Bees sprung up, but not a trace of the original foundation can now be seen.

During the five following centuries, the religious history of Strathclyde is little more than a mere blank. Throughout all this period one authentic entry alone is found in the history of the Councils, which modern Scottish antiquaries assign to this Church, and it presents to us an Irish bishop holding the crozier of St. Kentigern, and ruling this British see. In the year 721 Pope Gregory the Second held a synod in Rome, in which the Iconoclast Emperor, Leo, was condemned, and the people of Italy were declared free from all allegiance to him. Among the signatures to its decrees we find the following:—

"Sedulius, Brittaniæ Episcopus, de genere Scotorum.

"Fergustus, Episcopus Scotiæ, Pictus."[2]

The name Sedulius corresponds to the Irish Siadhuil, or Shiel, and many bishops of that name appear in our annals. No Anglo-Saxon Bishop would at that period have assumed the title of "Britanniæ Episcopus." The Sees of Wales were already closely defined, and in Dalriada or Pictland far different would be the episcopal designation. Wherefore, as Dr. Forbes justly concludes, his See must have been among the Strathclyde Britons. The other bishop was probably "St. Fergus, the Pict," whose name appears in our Martyrologies on the 8th September, and who, as we read in the Lessons of the Aberdeen Breviary, lived for many years in Ireland, and was there raised to the Episcopal rank, but towards the close of his life returned to Scotland, and preached the faith along the confines of Strogeth, and throughout Caithness and Buchan. He was probably as yet Bishop in Ireland at the time of the Roman Council. A noble basilica was erected over his tomb at Lungley, and his head was enshrined in a silver case in the Abbey of Scone.

1 *Reeves*, Eccles. Antiq., page 163.
2 *Mansi*, Concilia, viii., 109.

V.—SOME OTHER IRISH SAINTS IN SCOTLAND.

The Irish annals assign to the close of the fifth century[1] the first Christian settlement, which landed from Ireland on the Scottish coast, immediately north of the Firth of Clyde, and gave the name of Dalriada to that portion of the Pictish territory. Many of our pagan countrymen, indeed, had already preceded them, and by their predatory incursions had made the name of the Scots a byeword of terror and reproach throughout all Britain. Now, however, the three leaders of the colony were brave and christian men—Fergus Mor, and Lorn, and Angus, the sons of Erc, chieftain of Dalriada—and though the territory which they occupied was little more than the present county of Argyle, yet, such was their bravery and prowess in arms, and such, too, the wisdom of their rule, that the neighbouring districts very soon acknowledged their superior sway, and for a period of sixty years the rulers of Scottish Dalriada are honoured by our annalists with the title of Kings of Alba. About the year 560 they met with a momentary humiliation at the hands of Brude, the Pictish monarch; still they did not cease to assert their independence, and for two centuries their power and influence continued to be felt throughout north Britain. Their chief fortress was called Dunadd or Dunmonadh, from the river Add, on the banks of which it stood, and from the bog or marshy ground which stretched around it: "In the centre of the possessions of the Cinel Gabhran (writes Mr. Skene), at the head of the well-sheltered loch of Crinan, lies the great Moss of Crinan, with the river Add running through it. In the centre of the moss, and on the side of the river, rises an isolated rocky hill, called Dunadd, the top of which is strongly fortified. This was the capital of Dalriada, and many a stone obelisk in the moss around it, bears silent testimony to the contests of which it was the centre."[2]

About the middle of the eighth century this Scottish kingdom of Dalriada was well nigh destroyed by the Picts, but soon again its

1 The Irish chronicler, Flann, of Monasterboice, marks the date of this colony as follows: "Twenty years from the battle of Ocha to the arrival of the sons of Erc in Britain." The battle of Ocha is generally assigned to the year 478. The Annals of Tighernac place the death of Fergus Mor in the year A.D. 501.

2 *Skene*, Chronicles of the Scots and Picts, pag. cxiii.

independence was restored, and its heroic chieftain, Cenneth Mac Alpine, being reinforced by fresh bands of his Irish fellow-countrymen, completely vanquished the Picts, and, uniting all north Britain into one powerful kingdom, gave to it his royal dynasty, together with the name of Scotia. From Scottish writers he receives the title of 'Primus Rex Scottorum,' first king of the Scots: whilst the Irish chronicler briefly relates that "it was he who gave the kingdom of Scone to the Gael;" and Giraldus Cambrensis, an English writer of the 12th century, treating of this period, adds his testimony that "the Scots having occupied the whole of north Britain, from sea to sea, gave to it their name, and continue to rule over it to the present day."[1]

It will not surprise us to find that Irish bishops and Irish priests soon followed in the track of the brave colonists of Dalriada. Their zeal, however, was not confined within the limits of that territory. They penetrated far beyond its frontiers, even to the wildest and remotest parts of north Britain, and there are few districts of modern Scotland in which these Irish missionaries may not be traced by the popular veneration in which their memory is held, or by the lonely and melancholy ruins of the oratories which bear their names, and of the cells and monasteries in which they dwelt. "All over Scotland (writes Dr. Forbes) we note the close connection of this country with Ireland, although naturally it is in Argyleshire that we find the strongest evidence of the connection of the Dalriada Scots with their brethren of Erin; and through this province, above all, does our country claim a share in that wonderful Christian civilization and culture which is the glory of Ireland."[2] At times, indeed, we are only able to glean some vague and imperfect traditions relating to these pilgrim saints, who in those early ages shed such lustre upon our country; even these traditions, however, should be guarded with zealous care, for, like the remnants of their monasteries, they serve to mark the course of their missionary labours, and to remind us of that beauty of Christian life which the ruthless fanaticism of the 16th century sought for ever to obliterate, in the fairest districts of Scotland.

St. Kieran, patron saint of Ossory, was among the first of the

1 *Giraldus Cambrensis*, De Instruct. Princ. "totam a mari usque ad mare terram illam, quam a suo nomine Scociam dixerunt, usque in hodiernum obtinuerunt." See *Skene*, loc. cit., pag. 165.

2 *Forbes*, Kalendars, pref. pag. xlviii.

missionary bishops who hastened to minister to the spiritual wants of his countrymen in Scottish Dalriada. We have already seen how he laboured in Wales and along the southern coast of Britain, and with what reverence his memory is still cherished there. He is not less honoured, however, to the present day at Campbeltown and all along the Mull of Cantyre, where the Scottish mainland approaches nearest to Ireland. The oldest church in Campbeltown still bears his name, and other churches were dedicated to him in Carrick, and Islay, and Lismore. His feast was kept throughout Argyle and Ayrshire, as it is in Ossory, on the 5th of March. His hermitage, near Campbeltown, and his cave, deep-hidden in the rocks, whither he used to retire for prayer and solitude, and his holy-well, are visited by pilgrims: and year by year on each recurring festival pious crowds may be seen wending their way for about a quarter of a mile along the path of pilgrimage, from the venerable oratory of the saint down to the sea-shore, to St. Kieran's rock, which bears the impress of his knees, for there he was wont to kneel, and oftentimes, thence looking towards Erin, he prayed a blessing upon his native land.[1]

St. Buite, founder of the great monastery of Monasterboice, was a cotemporary of St. Kieran, and preached in Scotland for a little while towards the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. By our early writers he was likened for his virtues and manner of life to the Venerable Bede, and his death is marked with great precision in our annals on the 7th of December, in the year 521. The following particulars are taken from the MS. Life of the Saint,[2] which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He was a native of the county of Londonderry, and from his infancy was endowed with the gift of miracles; he was even said to have been instructed by the Angels in the

[1] The island of Sanda, situated off the southern coast of Cantyre, has two Celtic crosses and the ruins of a chapel, called Kilmashenaghan, but no tradition is now preserved in the island in regard to the Saint Shenaghan, from whom it takes its name. However, the island was visited two centuries ago by F. Edmund Mac Cana, and, in a short record of his visit, which has fortunately been preserved, he relates that there was a small chapel in the island dedicated to St. Ninian, and united to it the burial-place of the fourteen sons of the most holy Irishman, St. Senchan, all of whom were famed for their sanctity, and are named in our calendars on the 23rd of June. Their tombs were marked by seven large and polished stones, and the enclosure was regarded as an inviolable sanctuary. F. M. Cana adds that the arm of St. Ultan, preserved in a silver reliquary, was found in this island, and was then in the possession of one of the noble clan of the Mac Donells. See the original latin text of F. M. McCana's interesting record in the Proceedings of the R.I.A., vol. viii., pag. 134.

[2] Bodleian MSS., Rawlinson, 505, fol. 154.

knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures. To perfect himself in divine truth, and in the practices of piety, he proceeded to Italy, and, entering a monastery there, lived for several years unknown to the world, but endeared to the religious brethren by his meekness and other virtues. Being divinely admonished, he resolved at length to direct his steps towards home,[1] and, receiving many precious gifts of copies of the Sacred Scriptures, and vestments for the altar, and relics of the saints, he set out from Rome, accompanied by a venerable senior, whose special duty it was to check his ardour while assailing the enemies of truth. On their homeward journey they were joined by a religious company from Germany of sixty men and ten virgins, all of whom desired to put themselves under the guidance of our saint, and to become pilgrims with him for God. Sailing from Gaul, they landed in the Pictish territory in North Britain, and found the people in the greatest grief and commotion in consequence of the death of their King, Nectan, who had just then departed this life. At the prayers of our saint the monarch was restored to life, to the indescribable joy of his subjects, and to the great glory of God. St. Buite was in consequence permitted to preach the faith, and received in token of gratitude a gift of the royal fort in which the miracle took place. He tarried there for some time, and erected an oratory, and many of the inhabitants were led to the saving knowledge of divine truth. Leaving some of his companions to continue the work of the mission which he had so successfully begun, he proceeded to the sea coast, and sailed for Ireland. Such is the concise narrative of St. Buite's labours in Scotland, which his life presents to us, and the ablest Scottish antiquaries in our own day have not been able to question its accuracy. The religious company from Germany, who sought a secure asylum under the guidance of our saint, were probably driven from their monasteries beyond the Rhine by the sword of the victorious pagan Franks, pretty much as the religious of our own times have been obliged to fly from the same territories by the persecuting laws of triumphant infidelity. Scottish writers point out at Dunnichen the site of the great fortress of King Nectan, and not far from it are the ruins of an ancient fort, still known by the name Carbuddo, which is supposed to be a corruption of Caer-Buido, that is to say, "St. Buite's Fort."

[1] The MS. says that he left the monastery, "trigesimo peregrinationis suae anno." This may mean the thirtieth year of his age, or the thirtieth year of his monastic life.

St. Modan, whose spiritual labours may be traced all along the west coast of Scotland, was also an Irish saint. In the Kalendar of Adam King his death is marked in the year 507, but other Scottish writers generally assign it to A.D. 522. He was the son of an Irish chieftain, and devoted his life to minister to the spiritual wants of his countrymen in Scottish Dalriada. Several places still bear his name, though in too many of them his teaching and his virtues are now forgotten. The picturesque glen and ruins of Balmodhan, that is, 'St. Modan's Town,' situate at a short distance from the site of the ancient priory of Ardchattan, on the shores of Loch Etive, mark the spot on which he erected his first oratory. A few paces from the ruins we meet St Modan's Well, a clear, refreshing spring, at which pilgrimages were made within the memory of persons still living. An interesting sketch of Balmodhan, and the other sanctuaries of St. Modan, has been lately published by Rev. Mr. Story, from which I take the following extracts: "The ruins of Balmodhan (he writes) crown a grassy knoll, which overhangs the glen, and is divided from the upper slopes of the hill by a deep green hollow. The masonry is strong and rough, but little more than the gables and the outline of two broken walls remain, over-shadowed by the ash trees that have planted themselves among the stones, the existing trees growing out of the remains of roots, all gnarled and weathern-worn, of immensely greater age. In every crevice thorn, rowan, ivy, and fern have fastened themselves, softening and concealing the sanctuary's decay. When you turn to the west you realise the full nobleness of the site chosen for St. Modan's chapel. Your eye passes quickly over the waving woods that stretch along the nearer braes, and over the narrow entrance to the loch, to rest on the broader and more distant waters of the mighty Sound, bounded on the right by the green meadows of Lismore; while, filling all the rest of the horizon, stretches the grand and towering range of Mull, now shadowing with midst, now purple in sunshine, always vast, lonely, solemn. Descending from the ruin to the glen, a few paces bring you to the Well of Modan, which sends a tiny rivulet, pure and cold, to join its tinkle to the murmur of the burn, that hastens downwards betwixt banks rich in fern and fox-glove. Above the well the young branches of an aged yew-tree have been trained with their dark arms to form a circling bower."[1] Near the

[1] "Saint Modan," by R. H. Story, D.D., 1878, pag. 13.

shores of another loch, on the verge of the Western Highlands, in Dumbartonshire, stands the church of Rosneath, which also honours St. Modan as patron. It was formerly known as *Rossneveth*, *i.e.*, the Promontory of the Sanctuary, and sometimes it was called simply *Neveth* 'The Sanctuary.'[1] The promontory is formed by the Gairloch, and Loch-Long, and here, too, a glen was the saint's abode, not unlike that which surmounts the priory of Ardchattan: it is called the 'Clochan glen,' probably from the saint's cell or oratory, and tradition says that a miraculous well was formerly here, resorted to by pious pilgrims: now the ancient burial-ground and adjacent Kirk alone retain the name of St. Modan. The site was admirably selected by the saint: "in the morning he could watch the sun striking the grim summit of Alcluyd, the stronghold of the Britons, and in the evening see it tinge with gold and purple the rugged screen of Highland hills, on which the race of Diarmaid had not yet laid their tenacious grasp, and behind whose wild barriers lay the broad waters of the west." (Story, pag. 42.) The Canons Regular came hither in later times to carry on the work of religion and civilisation begun by St Modan: their cloister stood on the fertile plain beneath the sanctuary or 'heavenly ground' hallowed by the saint; now not a stone upon a stone remains to mark its site. Under the wild ranges of Ardgour stood another church, dedicated to St. Modan, a few ruins of which may still be seen beside the ancient churchyard. In the mediæval charters, by a corruption of the name, it is called Killevaodin and Kilbodane. In at least one other place, in Argyleshire, St. Modan's name is still preserved: for we meet with the parish of Kilmodan, above Loch Riddan, on the Kyles of Bute. The modern Kirk stands on the site of the ancient church, close by the flat sandy shore of the loch, where the Ruel, which gives its name to Glendaruel, discharges its shallow waters. St. Modan's work of evangelization extended as far east as Falkirk, for the old church of that town, called *Eglais Breac*, was dedicated to him, and the High Church of Stirling also honoured him as patron. Till a few years ago, a large flat stone was preserved near Balmhaodan, known as *Suidhe-Mhaodain*, or St. Modan's seat: but some ruthless Presbyterian split it into lintels for doors and windows. Some curious traditions regarding the "Yellow Bell" of the saint and its wonderful cures are also jealously preserved on the shores of Loch Etive.

[1] Origin. Paroch. I, 28.

The Lessons in the ancient Breviary of Aberdeen for the saint's festival, an the 4th of February, give some details regarding his life. From his early years he lived under the monastic rule, and as a faithful soldier and servant of Christ, continually warred against his spiritual enemies. His food was of the austerest kind: and he never used wine or other delicacies. By his preaching "the whole Scotic race, which dwelt on the west side of the Forth and at Falkirk," became instructed in divine truths. Finding that his end approached, "he retired to a lonely place near the ocean of Scotia, not far from Dunbarton and Lochgarlod," where the church of Rosneth now stands, and there rested in peace: "his most sacred relics repose in a certain chapel of the cemetery of the same church, and are held in the highest veneration." Devotion to St. Modan continued popular till a late period. Sir Walter Scott introduces it into the Sixth Canto of the Lay of the Last Ministrel:—

> "Then each to each his troubled breast,
> To some blest saint his prayers addressed—
> Some to Saint Modan made their vows,
> Some to Saint Mary of the Lowes."

In the north-east of Scotland, throughout Buchan, we find another Irish Saint Modan honoured on the 14th of November. The parish of Fintray was specially dedicated to him. The minister of St. Giles' Kirk there has in his possession (writes Dr. Forbes in 1872) a silver cup, belonging to the parish, bearing the date of 1632, said by tradition to have been formed of the shrine which encased the relics of Saint Modan, and which in Catholic times was wont to be carried in procession through that parish, to awaken the piety of the people and to obtain the mercy of God, at times of calamity and distress.

St. Brigid, chief patroness of Ireland, was also venerated in many churches of Scotland. The Scottish antiquarians teach us that in the beginning of the sixth century she proceeded thither, accompanied by nine saintly virgins, and settled at Abernethy. There she erected a church, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin, which in the course of time became enriched with many royal gifts.[1] St. Darlughdach was chosen first abbess of the new community, and it is recorded in the Pictish Chronicle that Nectan Mor, in the fourth year of his reign

[1] *Skene*, Chronicles of the Scots and Picts, pag. 6.

"offered Abernethy to God and to Brigid, in the presence of St. Darlughdach, who chaunted Alleluja over his pious gift."[1] It is added that this gift of Nectan extended from the termon of Apurfort to the termon of Lethfoss, and thence northwards to Athan. The same ancient record assigns the cause of Nectan's munificence to St. Brigid. He had been forced into exile in early life through the violence of his brother, Drust, and had sought a place of refuge in Ireland. Hearing of the sanctity and miracles of St. Brigid, he proceeded to Kildare, and besought her to be mindful of him in her prayers. St. Brigid comforted him by the prophetic announcement that he would return to his country, that God would have mercy on him, and that at no distant day he would possess the kingdom of the Picts in peace. The ancient Scottish dedications to St. Brigid were very numerous, especially along the western coast. Thus we find St. Brigid's convent in the parish of Kilmore in Bute, and her churches at Kilbride, seven miles from Glasgow, and at Rothesay, and Arran, and Uist, and in several other places. Again, there is St. Brigid's Well, at Dunsyre, in Lanarkshire, and we meet with her chapel and burn at Kilbarchan in Renfrewshire, and her chapel and holy well at Beath in Ayrshire. Her dedications are also found in the Lewes at Borve, and in Stronsay and Papa in the Orkneys. Her church, in the province of Athol, was famous for miracles, and a portion of her relics was kept with great veneration in the monastery of Regular Canons at Abernethy. St. Brigid was the patroness of the great family of Douglas, and the church of Douglas still bears her name.[2]

It was from a portion of the religious territory of Abernethy that in later times was formed the Diocese of Brechin. The town of Brechin, too, had St. Brigid for its patron, and it is strange to find that the only two Round Towers on the mainland of Scotland must be sought for at the churches of Abernethy and Brechin. Of Brechin Diocese, Skene writes that "it emanated from the Irish Church, and was assimilated in its character to the Irish monasteries, and to this we may, no doubt, attribute the well-known Round Tower of Brechin."[3] Another portion of the religious territory of Abernethy was erected

[1] Immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et Sanctæ Brigidæ, praesente Darlugdach quae cantavit Alleluja super istam hostiam." Skene, Ibid.

[2] *Forbes*, Kalendars, pag. 290. *Barbour's* Bruce lib. iv. pag. 118. Spalding Club.

[3] *Skene*, Celtic Scotland, II., 400.

into the Bishopric of Dunblane. The origin of this church is assigned to the seventh century, when it was formed as an offshoot from Kingarth, and it had the Irishman, St. Blane, for its founder. The old church of Dunblane was situate in the vale of the river Allan, not far from its junction with the Forth, but during the reign of Kenneth MacAlpine, it was burned by the neighbouring Britons of Strathclyde. St. Blane succeeded his countryman, St. Cathan, as bishop of Kingarth: he is named in the Festology of Ængus as "Blann, the mild of Kingarth," and the gloss adds: "he was bishop of Kingarth: Dunblann is his principal city, and he is also of Kingarth among the Gallgael."

Thus it was that new Sees sprung up in the Scottish Church through the fruitful labours of Irish saints. Brechin and Dunblane, however, are not the only dioceses in Scotland that must look to holy Irishmen for their origin. We have already seen how the first foundations of the great city and See of Aberdeen were traced by an illustrious disciple of St. Columba.[1] So, too, it was from the religious institutions built up by Irish piety that the primatial See of St. Andrew's sprung. Nor was this all. When Kenneth MacAlpine assumed the sovereignty of Scotland, Dunkeld[2] was for a time declared the chief See of Scotland, and it, too, had the Irishman Tuathal for its first Bishop. After an interval, under the rule of King Constantine, St. Andrew's was once more restored to its place of privilege and honour, and again the name of the Irish bishop Cellach appears first on its primatial roll.[3] And it is to this illustrious bishop that the Scottish nation is indebted for the first great charter of its rights and liberties; for it was on the mount of faith at Scone, the Runnymede of Scotland, that the pious prince Constantine, and all the chieftains of the Scots assembled around Cellach, the Bishop, and "vowed that the laws and disciplines of faith, and the rites of the churches, and of the Gospels likewise, should be observed."[4]

Before we part with St. Brigid, we must make mention of St. Finnian, the illustrious founder of Moville. He was one of the greatest

[1] Part II., pag. 186.

[2] As late as the end of the 12th century, we find a Bishop of Dunkeld, named John the Scot, petitioning the Holy See to have Argyle, which hitherto formed portion of his diocese, erected into a separate See, assigning as his reason that "the people thereof did only speak Irish," so that they could not understand him, nor he them. See Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland, ed, of 1847, vol. i., pag. 194.

[3] *Skene*, Chronicles, &c., CLXII.

[4] *Forbes*, Kalendars, XLVII.

saints who adorned our country in the sixth century: he is honoured in Italy as the chief patron of the city of Lucca, and he is named with eulogy by the holy Pontiff, St. Gregory the Great. It is only, however, the Scottish traditions that record his spiritual labours on the mission in Scotland. The Breviary of Aberdeen relates that, whilst he preached the faith in Alba, he made with his own hands a stone cross of marvellous workmanship, and erected it in honour of St. Brigid.[1] St. Finnian was long honoured at Kilwinning, as also at Holywood in Dumfries-shire, and at both places his holy well is still pointed out. He seems also to have preached at Dalry, where there is an ancient enclosure called Caer-Winning, or St. Finnian's Fort.

And now a long list of Irish saints presents itself, pious anchorites or zealous missionaries, who evangelized Picts and Scots alike, that they might gain all to Christ, and the names of many of them shine brightly on the honour-roll as well of Ireland as of Scotland. I will do little more than mention the names of a few of them. St. Coemghen, the fair saint, who, for his strict discipline and manner of life, is compared by our ancient writers with St. Paul, the first hermit, founded about the year A.D. 550 the famous monastery of Glendaloch, in which the Angel's prediction was fully verified: "it shall be holy and honoured, and the kings and great ones of Ireland shall show it reverence for the sake of God and St. Coemghen" A little later he proceeded to Scotland, and, seeking out some solitary glens, lived there for a time, emulating the austerities of the fathers of the East, and of the hermits of the Egyptian deserts. Down to the Reformation-period his memory was cherished at Machririoch, in Argyleshire, and he was also venerated at Kilchevin and Kilchowan.

St. Moanus seems also to have led a life of heremitical austerity in Fife. He was the patron of Portmoak, and it is a tradition that it was at his invitation St. Brendan visited the islands to the north of the Scottish coast, and preached there the doctrines of heavenly life.

St. Berchan of Cluainsosta, in Offaly, spent half of his missionary career in Alba and half in Erin. In our Martyrologies he is styled "a Bishop and Apostle of God," and together with St. Columbkille, St. Moling, the perfect, and St. Brendan of Birr, he is numbered among the great prophets of our early church. Scottish writers tell us that he was Bishop in the Orkney islands, and that he was venerated

[1] *Forbes*, Kalendars, pag. 290, and 463.

for his sanctity in the province of Stirling. He was also patron of Inchmahome in the lake of Menteith, and of Kilbarchan in Renfrew. From Stuart's 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland' we learn that in the parish of Houston, in the barony of Barochan, there is a fine ancient Celtic Cross dedicated to this saint.[1]

St. Senanus, patron of Iniscattery island, is honoured in Scotland under the name of Kessog and Moshenoc. At Eives, in Eskdale, he is joint patron with St. Cuthbert, and he was venerated at Achdashenaigh and Killenach in Mull, and at Kilmahunah in Cantyre. Robert Bruce, in 1813, granted to the church of Luss a sanctuary-territory of three miles, "Deo et Santo Kessogo," in a charter which is preserved at Buchanan. The bell of the saint "Sancta campana sancti Kessogii" was preserved in the Lennox in the seventeenth century. He was also patron of Callander, where his fair, called *Fel machessaig*, was kept on the 21st of March: there is also a curious artificial mound, where the old church stood, called by the people "Machessaig's mound."

St. Finbar, patron of Cork, was renowned for sanctity throughout Leinster and Munster. The first school which he established in the south was at an island in Lough Eirce, now known as Gougane-Barra. Colgan tells us that thither "as to the abode of wisdom, and the sacred storehouse of all christian virtues, so many came through zeal of leading a holy life, that it changed a desert into a great city, from the number of its cells and of the holy men inhabiting them."[2] A later writer, speaking of this island, says that St. Finbar, "wishing to lead a life of pious retirement, found a situation there, beyond all others, suitable to his desire; a retreat as impenetrable as the imagination could well conceive, and seemingly designed by nature for the abode of some sequestered anchorite, where, in undisturbed solitude, he might pour out his soul in prayer." Following the example of his Fathers, St. Finbar made a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles,[3] and subsequently laboured for a long time in North Britain. Dr. Forbes writes that "the cultus of this saint was very prevalent in Scotland."[4] It is strange to find that even as at home in Lough Eirce, so in Scotland it is in solitary islands that we are to seek for his chief sanctuaries. Martin, in his Western Islands, writes that Finbar is

[1] *Stuart*, I., 35. [2] *Colgan*, Acta SS. ad diem 14th, Martin.
[3] *Usher*, Works, vol. vi., pag. 521. [4] *Forbes*, Kalendars, pag. 275.

"the patron of Dornoch and of the island of Barra, which takes its name from him" (pag. 92). In the parish of Kilberran we find that the island now called Davar was known in former times as St. Barre's island:[1] and again in the island of Barray, at Shilbar, which is a manifest corruption of his name, a statue of the saint was held in great veneration. In the 'Origines Parochiales Scotiæ,' we read that at Eddlestone his yearly festival was kept on the 25th of September, and it adds that "he obtained special reverence in Caithness" (vol. i., pag. 211).

St. Fechin, too, receives a high place in the Scottish Kalendars. A native of Leyney, in Connaught, his first spiritual work was at Easdara, now Ballysadare; and subsequently he founded a monastery at Fore, in Westmeath, where his community consisted of 300 monks. He received from King Guaire a gift of Omey island, off the coast of Connemara, the natives of which had hitherto led a pagan life, but were now converted by his preaching. He was also honoured at Inis-iarthair, or Ardoilen, which is described in his life as an almost inaccessible island. This saint would seem to have combined a strong national spirit with his piety. Before his death in 664, he requested his disciples that no one from Cambria should ever inherit his abbacy. One characteristic miracle is also mentioned in his life. After the Anglo-Norman invasion there was an English friar in the monastery of Fore who hated the Irish, and made no secret of the contempt with which he regarded their Irish patron, St. Fechin. One day, whilst he knelt before the altar, the saint appeared to him, and struck him with his pastoral staff; and, such was the violence of the blow, that in three days the unhappy man expired. In Scotland, St. Fechin appears under the name Vigean and Viganach. His name occurs in the Dunkeld Litany. His chief sanctuary was at Grange, close to the ancient abbey of Arbroath, where, till the last century, a fair was held in his honour on the 20th of January. He was also honoured as patron at Ecclefechan, which, in mediæval charters, appears, as "Ecclesia Sancti Fechani."

St. Ernan, or Mernog, who, though a poor, neglected boy, when he touched the cowl of St. Columbkille at Clonmacnoise, yet merited to hear from the lips of that great saint the prophetic words that he would one day be an ornament of God's church, appears in Scotland under the name Marnan and Marnock. The Breviary of Aberdeen

[1] Origin. Paroch. II., 12.

states that he died at Aberkerdoure, "where to this day, through his intercession, the sick are restored to health." In the ancient Register of Aberbrothock, mention is made of a portion of his relics held in veneration there, and also of the bier on which his relics used to be borne through the parish of Marnock. He was patron of the Innes family. About three miles south of Kilfinnan, and not far from the seashore, is to be seen the foundation and a small part of the wall of a chapel, surrounded by a churchyard, on a field called Ard-Marnoc; and about three hundred yards above this chapel, on an eminence, there is a cell in which, according to the tradition of the country, the saint lived in the exercises of prayer and of a penitential life. There were other dedications to him at Inchmarnock, an island off the coast of Bute, and in several districts of the mainland.

There are two other saints who, on account of similarity of name, have sometimes been confounded by Scottish writers with St. Ernan, but who, nevertheless, have each a distinct place in the Irish Kalendars. These are St. Ethernan, who built a religious house in the Isle of May, and whose death is marked in the Annals of Ulster in the year 669; and St. Itharnasch, "the silent," one of the chief patrons of Clane, in the County Kildare, who was venerated at Lathrisk in Fife. In the Breviary of Aberdeen the following special prayer is assigned for his festival on the 22nd of December: "O God, who didst will that the soul of blessed Ithernasc, thy confessor, should penetrate to the stars of heaven, vouchsafe that, as we celebrate his venerable feast, we may, in thy mercy, through his intercessions and merits, be found worthy to ascend to the joys of his blessed life, through our Lord, &c."

St. Fintan Munnu, whose festival was observed as well in Ireland as in Scotland, on the 21st of October, was, from his youth, remarkable for sanctity. He is famed among the Irish saints for his austerities; his life was, indeed, a continuous martyrdom, and he looked on it as the greatest privation to be healed of the infirmities from which he suffered. The Felire of St. Aengus commemorates him as:

> "The torch with the ascending flame,
> Fintain, pure-tested gold,
> The powerful abstemious son of Talchan,
> A warrior religious and crucified."

His chief monastery in Ireland was Teach-Mun, now Taghmon, and it

is specially related that it was he who administered the holy Viaticum to St. Canice. In Argyle, he chose for his retreat an island in Loch Leven, which in after years was called by his name, and is still known as Eileanmunde. His chief Scottish foundation, however, was at Kilmun, on the north side of the Firth of Clyde, in Argyleshire, which to the present day honours his memory, and a picturesque old burial ground still marks the site of the ancient monastery. It is beautifully situated in a cluster of trees in a recess among the hills which branch off from the Firth of Clyde. A high hill rises behind it, and glens of the wildest kind abound on every side, and make it one of the most picturesque spots in the Western Highlands. In front of the burial place is a small sheet of water, still called the Holy Loch. There is a curious tradition relating to the origin of this name. A shipload of earth, it says, was conveyed from the Holy Land to be placed in the foundations of the old church of Glasgow, but the ship being wrecked in this small loch, the blessed clay was thrown overboard, and hence the whole sheet of water was reputed holy. It seems more probable, however, that the sanctity of the place was derived from the monastery on its shore and from the virtues of the holy men who dwelt there. There is still preserved a charter of the 15th century by which the ancestor of the Argyll family engages to found a collegiate church at Kilmun "in honorem sancti Mundi abbatis" for the repose of the souls of some deceased members of the donor's family. This charter was confirmed at Perth by James the Second of Scotland on the 12th of May, 1450. The mediæval records also make mention of the saint's pastoral staff, which was held in the greatest veneration throughout Argyleshire, but of which no trace can now be found.

St. Beccan, from his love of serving God in solitude, was surnamed 'The Solitary.' He was of the race of the chieftains of Tyrconnel; leaving Ireland, he spent some time in a solitary cell at Iona, whilst his uncle Seghene was abbot there. Seeking a more desert place, he retired to the island of Rum, in the western isles, and there, erecting his hermitage, led a long life of prayer and penitence, resting in peace, as Tighernach records, in the year 677.[1]

St. Flannan, patron of Killaloe, is named in the Scottish Kalendars on the 18th of December. To the west of the island of Lewis, in the Atlantic, about twenty miles from the shore, are the Eileanan Flannain, or 'the little islands of St. Flannan,' and, on the largest of the group,

[1] *Skene*, Celtic Scot., II., 249.

stands the *Teampull Beannchadh*, that is the blessed chapel of our saint. Martin, in his 'Western Isles,' pag. 17, states that such is the traditional veneration with which the fowlers from the Lewis regard these islands, that they never approach them but with prayers and ceremonies.

Of St. Dabius, Alban Butler[1] writes, that he was an Irish priest who preached with great success in his own country and in Alba. He is patron of Donach-Cloney, in the County of Down, and of Kippen, in Scotland, where a church is dedicated to him by the name of Moveau. In the parish of Weem his holy well is pointed out; and tradition relates that he had a chapel on the shelf of the rock, still called *Crag-an-t'Scheapail*, or the Chapel Rock. Here also was a burial ground, called Cill-Daidh. Other churches dedicated to him are found in the north of the parish of Kilninian, in Mull, and in the parish of Kilblane, in Bute.

In the Breviary of Aberdeen, at the 8th of November, St. Gervad is thus commemorated: "Gervad, an Irishman, left his home, and coming to Scotland, in the province of Moray, associated with himself some followers of Christ at Kenedor, where he built a cell. In that place he had a stone bed." The saint's cave, not far from Elgin, was long a favourite resort of pilgrims. In the Elgin charters it is denominated Holyman Head. It was about twelve feet square, and commanded a long but solitary prospect of the eastern coast. In later times it was ornamented with a Gothic doorway and window, but these were ruthlessly demolished some years ago. A spring in the rock, above this cave or hermitage, was called St. Gervad's Well.

The Felire of Ængus styles St. Momhaedog, who is patron of Fiddown in Ireland, "the gem of Alba." The Scottish Kalendars, however, give us no particulars regarding his missionary career. On the other hand St. Tallarican, or Tarraglen, though omitted by the Irish Martyrologies, is one of the few whom the Breviary of Aberdeen expressly commemorates as an Irish saint. "Talarican, it says, an Irishman, who was raised to the episcopal dignity by Pope Gregory, is noted as having daily offered the Holy Sacrifice. His manner of life was conformable to this devotion; and he submitted himself to stern self-discipline. He laboured in the north of Scotland, and various

[1] *Butler*, Lives, at 22 July.

churches in his honour, in the dioceses af Aberdeen, Moray and Ross, witness to his labours."[1]

Passing over several other saints, whose names are cherished in various districts of Scotland, we come to St. Maelrubha, of whom Dr. Reeves writes :—"Next to St. Columbkille, there is no ecclesiastic of the ancient Scottish church whose commemorations are more numerous in the west of Scotland, or whose history is marked with greater exactness in the main particulars of his life."[2] He was an Irishman of princely birth, being of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and he was born on the 3rd of January, 642, as is recorded in the annals of Tighernach. On his mother's side he was akin to St. Comgall, founder of Bangor, in the County of Down, and he embraced the religious life at an early age in that famous monastery. In the year 671 he withdrew from his native country to Ross-shire, on the north-west coast of Scotland, and two years later founded there the church and monastery of Aporcrossan —now Applecross—where he continued for fifty years to exercise the abbatial office with such a reputation for sanctity and miracles that, throughout all that territory he was in after times regarded as the patron Saint. The Scottish legend makes him a martyr; and it relates that, being wounded by some pagan pirates from the Norwegian coasts, and left for dead, he was for three days consoled by the angels of God. A bright light made known to a neighbouring priest the place where he lay, at whose hands he received the body of the Immaculate Lamb, and he then tranquilly yielded his soul to God. In the Festology of St. Ængus he is commemorated on the 21st of April:

"In Alba, in purity,
After forsaking all comforts,
Hath gone from us, with his mother,
Our brother, Maelrubha."

The Lessons in the Aberdeen Breviary narrate that on the spot where he expired a wooden chapel was at first constructed, which was subsequently superseded by the parish church of Urquhart. His body, however, was removed to Applecross, where it was solemnly interred, and, in reverence for his sanctity, the lands of Applecross, within a radius of six miles from the saint's church, enjoyed the rights and privileges of sanctuary. When the Danes were engaged in their work

[1] *Brev. Aberdon.* pars aest., fol. CXXXIV. b.
[2] *Reeves,* 'St. Maelrubha and his churches,' pag. 3.

of plunder along the Scottish coast, they invaded this district, pillaged the monastery, despoiled the clergy, and carried off the booty to their ships; but the vengeance of God overtook them, and they perished within sight of land in the tranquil sea. Applecross still retains many memorials of its great patron. The little stream which there falls into the bay is called *Amhain Marea, i.e.*, Maelrubha's River. The cemetery also bears his name. A little to the south is a mound, called *Cloadh Maree*, which is supposed to mark the founder's grave. Then there is the *Suidhe Maree*, or Maelrubha's seat, and again *Loch Maree*, Maelrubha's lake, on the shore of which stands a rude monolith, eight feet in height, showing traces of a cross on the west face, and supposed to have been erected by St. Maelrubha. He is honoured also as patron of the parish of Loughcarron in Ross-shire, which is sometimes designated *Comaraigh Mulruy*, i.e., "Maelrutha's sanctuary," and which still retains the *Clochan Mulruy*, or the stone cell of Maelrubha. In the parish of Gairloch, to the north of Applecross, there is a long narrow lake called after our saint; its principal island is *Inis Maree*, or Maelrubha's island, where may still be seen the ruins of the saint's oratory. Pennant, in his 'Tour in Scotland,' calls this island "the favored isle of the saint, the patron of all the coast from Applecross to Loch Broom. In the midst is a circular dike of stones, with a regular narrow entrance; the inner part has been used for ages as a burial-place, and is still in use. A stump of a tree is shown as an altar, probably the memorial of one of stone; but the curiosity of the place is the well of the saint, of power unspeakable in cases of lunacy. . . This is the most beautiful of the isles."[1] At Contin there is an old cemetery called *Praes Marea*, or "Maelrubha's Bush," and, indeed, all through Ross-shire we meet with frequent memorials of our saint. The connection of Applecross with Ireland did not cease with the death of St. Maelrubha. The Annals of Tighernach, at the year 737, as also the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters, record the death of Failbhe, son of Guaire, Abbot of Aporcrossan, "combarb of Maelrubha," who, with twenty-two of his religious, perished at sea. Again, in the year 801, the Annals of Ulster have the entry "Mac Oigi of Aporcrossan, Abbot of Bangor, happily ended his life in peace."

St. Faolan, called in Scotland St. Fillan, is named in the Irish and Scottish Kalendars on the 9th of January. He was born in the county

[1] *Penant* Tour, pag. 330.

of Wexford in the beginning of the eight century, and was trained to piety in the monasteries founded by St. Ibar and St. Fintan-Munnu. At Taghmon, that he might more easily devote himself to divine contemplation, he secretly constructed a cell, not far from the cloister, where he spent his whole time in prayer. Being chosen abbot, he, "by his virtues and good example, ruled wisely, and instructed and informed his brethren in all holiness, chastity, and humility" (Brev., Aberdeen). Following the summons of heaven, he forsook his native country, and betook himself to Lochalsh in Northern Argyle (the ancient name for Ross-shire), whither his uncle, St. Congan, had preceded him: at the present day two ancient churches, Kilkoan and Killellan, preserve there the names of these two holy Irishmen. At Pittenween, St. Fillan's cave is shown, and the neighbouring parish of Forgan, in Fife, was in ancient documents sometimes called St. Fillan's parish. Strathfillan also takes its name from him, and the ruins of his ancient church and his holy well still frequented by pilgrims, and his bell, which was long venerated there as a holy relic, but is now preserved in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society in Edinburgh,[1] sufficiently attest the veneration in which he was held. It was near Strathfillan that the famous battle of Bannockburn was fought. Robert de Bruce, as we are told by Boece, passed the night before the battle in prayer "to God and St. Fillan," and caused the arm of St. Fillan, set in a silver case, to be brought to his camp. This is said to have been effected by miracle; whereupon the next morning the abbot of Inch-affray (*i.e*, Insula Missarum), having offered the holy sacrifice and ministered the Blessed Eucharist, the King addressed his soldiers, and told them that "the miracle of St. Fillan was a presage of certain victory." The Bachul, or pastoral staff of St. Fillan still exists, and has been described in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii., pag. 233. We learn from Dr. Forbes that this saint was also honoured as patron in the parish of Killallan (a corruption of Kill-Fillan) in Renfrew; close to the church is "St. Fillan's Seat," and at a short distance from it "St. Fillan's Well."[2]

The Ulster Annals, in the year 737, mark the demise of Ronan, Abbot of Cinngarad, in Scotland. He is commemorated by Ængus

[1] These particulars have been taken from an interesting paper on "the ancient Bell of St. Fillan," by Dr. Forbes, in the 8th volume of Proc. of Scot. Antiq., Edinburgh, 1870.

[2] *Forbes*, Kalendars, at pag. 468.

on the 9th of February, and is styled "Ronan, the kingly." More than one of his churches bears the name Kilmaronock. He is also patron of a little island called Ronay, off Raasay, and of another island called Rona, sixty miles to the north-north-east of the Lewes, where there is a very ancient Irish oratory, and some venerable Celtic crosses. There is also an islet on the west coast of the mainland, in Zetland, called St. Ronan's Isle. "Very far south, in the bay of Scalloway, lies the peninsulated eminence of St. Ronan's, joined to the mainland by a low sand-bank, which in high tides or gales is occasionally overflowed: the foundations appear of an old chapel."[1]

The fact of these desert islands being chosen by some of the greatest saints of our early church, as silent retreats for their exercises of prayer and penance, has elicited the warm admiration of some Scottish writers, who, nevertheless, have but little in common with the promptings of Irish piety: "The same aspect of religion," it is thus Dr. Forbes writes, which peopled the deserts of Egypt with the followers of St Anthony and St. Paul, filled the storm-beaten islets of the Atlantic and German oceans with solitaries who, amid the roaring of the waves, and the screams of the sea-birds, sang praises to God, and practised austerities which this age can hardly realise. They were said, as it were technically, *quærere eremum in oceano*, to seek a desert spot in the ocean. From Eilan Rona, which stands sixty miles to the north-west of the Butt of Lewes, past the Flannan islands and St. Kilda, down to Ailsa Crag and Sanda, the traces of hermitages and oratories are found throughout the great insular range of the Hebrides; and, although the east coast, by the comparative absence of islands, did not afford the same facilities, yet wherever they existed, they were used for this purpose."[2] The Irish anchorites, however, penetrated even far beyond the Hebrides; for we learn from one of our ancient writers named Dicuil,[3] who flourished in the ninth century, and whose work, as appears from intrinsic data, was written in A.D. 825, that the Feroe Islands, which are situate about two hundred miles farther

[1] *Hibbert* 'Shetland,' pag. 456.

[2] *Forbes*, Kalendars, pag. 273.

[3] Dicuil's work is entitled "De Mensura Orbis terrae." There are two MS. copies in the National Library, Paris, and one in the British Museum. It was published by Walckenaer in 1807, but far more correctly by Letronne, in Paris, in 1814. Dicuil leaves no doubt as to his country. In cap. 6, he speaks of his teacher, *Suibhne*, and of the *clerici et laici ex Hibernia* who visited Jerusalem. In cap. 7 he writes: "Circum nostram insulam Hiberniam, sunt insulae sed aliae parvæ, atque aliæ minimae."

than the Hebrides from the mainland, and which hitherto had been uninhabited and even unknown to the civilized world, were peopled for a time by holy men from Ireland. Having treated of the Hebrides, and the other islands off the British coast, Dicuil thus continues: "There are many other islands in the North ocean of Britain which, by sailing in a direct course,—with full sails and favourable winds,—may be reached in two days and nights from the islands off the north coast of Britain. A certain religious, by name Probus, narrated to me that, being on sea for two summer days and the intervening night, in a little boat, with two sets of oars, he reached one of these islands. Some of these islands are but small. Most of them are in a group, separated only by narrow straits, and for almost a hundred years hermits, who sailed from our Erin, inhabited them. But as from the beginning of the world to that time they had been uninhabited, so now, on account of the northern marauders, the anchorites have abandoned them, but they are full of innumerable sheep, and of very many different species of sea-fowl. We have not in any author found mention of these islands."[1] It was in the year 725 that the Scandinavians seized upon these islands; and it strangely corroborates Dicuil's statement that they gave them the name of *Foereyar*, precisely on account of the sea-fowl abounding there. It was probably from the Feroe islands that the Irish hermits pushed on to Iceland, for we learn from the Scandinavian records that the first northern rovers who proceeded to Iceland in the year 860 pursued the same course. Dicuil incidentally makes mention of some religious who, in the year 795, remained in Iceland from the 1st of February to the 1st of August, and the famous *Landnamabok*, compiled from Icelandic traditions in the 12th century, expressly attests that: "Before Iceland was inhabited by Nordmen, there were men living there who were called Papæ, who professed the Christian religion, and are supposed to have come thither by sea

[1] As this work of Dicuil is very rare, I here add the original text of this important passage: "Sunt aliae insulae multae in septentrionali Britanniae oceano, quae a septentrionalibus Britanniae insulis duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis, assiduo feliciter vento, adiri queunt. Aliquis Probus religiosus mihi retulit, quod in duobus aestivis diebus et una intercedente nocte navigans in duorum naviculа transtrorum, in unam illarum introivit. Illae insulae sunt aliae parvulæ. Fere cunctae simul angustis distantes fretis, in quibus, in centum fere annis, eremitae ex nostra Scottia navigantes habitaverunt. Sed sicut a principio mundi desertae semper fuerunt; ita nunc, causa latronum Nortmannorum vacuæ anachoretis, plenae innumerabilibus ovibus, ac diversis generibus multis nimis marinarum avium. Nunquam eas insulas in libris auctorum memoratas invenimus." Edit. Letronne, pag. 39.

westwards, because Irish books (*Baekor 'Irskar*) bells and croziers and other things belonging to them, which were found there, indicated that they were Westmen. These things were found in Papeya, on the east coast, and at Papyli in the interior."[1]

But to return to our Irish missionaries in Scotland, we have seen in a former paper how Ireland added a long list to the roll of the Martyr Saints, who shed their blood for the faith in North Britain.[2] We are indebted to Walafridus Strabo, an illustrious Benedictine Abbot of the monastery of Reichenau in the ninth century, for an account of the martyrdom of another of our countrymen, St. Blaithmac, who, on the shores of Iona, most probably in the year 825,[3] sealed with his blood his reverence for the relics of St. Columba, and his devotion to holy Faith. St. Blaithmac, whose name, derived from *Blaith*, "a flower," has been latinized Florentius, was of princely birth, but, renouncing in his youth the attraction of the world, embraced a religious life. By his fervour and his many virtues he was a model to all the brethren, and, being chosen Abbot, displayed a heavenly wisdom in the government of the monastery. From his early years, however, his soul had yearned for the martyr's crown, and more than once he had solicited permission to set out for distant lands to preach to pagan nations, in the hope of winning that coveted prize. It was in Iona, however, that he was to receive the palm of martyrdom. Since the pagan Danes had begun to ravage the British coast, the monastery of Iona had become a perilous post, and it was only after repeated requests that Blaithmac was permitted to leave his own monastery, and to enrol himself there among the religious of St. Columba. One day, during the absence of the Abbot, he announced to the community, in a spirit of prophecy, that an irruption of pagan marauders was at hand, and he exhorted them to make their choice: "If you wish to endure martyrdom for the sake of Christ, he said, and fear it not, remain with me, and arm yourselves with becoming courage: but if you wish to avoid impending danger seek at once for safety in flight." The shrine of St. Columba's relics was then carefully concealed, and some of the religious took refuge on the mainland. The next morning, whilst

[1] *Johnstone*, Antiquit. Celto-Scandinav., pag. 14.

[2] See part II., pag. 185.

[3] The year 825 is that adopted by Dr. Reeves in his *Adamnan*, pag. 389. O'Donovan places this martyrdom in the year 823, *Four Masters* i., 436. Mabillon and other continental writers assign it to A.D. 789. *Annales ord. S. Benedicti*, iii., lib. 26, 27.

Blaithmac was as yet at the altar, after offering up the Holy Sacrifice, and the other religious were kneeling around, a band of pagan Danes rushed in and put the religious to the sword. They offered to spare Blaithmac if he would make known to them where the rich treasure of St. Columba's shrine was preserved, but, when he refused to betray the secret, they hewed him into pieces still standing at the altar of God. When the marauders took their departure, the religious returned to Iona, and interred the remains of St. Blaithmac in that place, where his glorious crown of martyrdom had been obtained, and his biographer adds that many miracles were afterwards wrought in favor of several persons through the merits and intercession of this great soldier of Christ.[1]

Among the Irish missionaries of the tenth century I may name St. Cadroe. Scottish writers at the present day are generally, indeed, agreed in reckoning him among their sainted countrymen. However, Colgan seems to me to have satisfactorily defended the Irish parentage of the saint. At all events, as well the Scottish as the Irish writers attest that St. Cadroe pursued his studies in Armagh, and led a religious life there for many years. In his life the special branches of study which he pursued beneath the shadow of St. Patrick's primatial see, are set forth in detail; besides Theology and the Sacred Scriptures, Philosophy is mentioned, and Oratory, and Astronomy, and Natural Science; and in all of them he is said to have acquired a profound knowledge. From Armagh he proceeded to Scotland, and there for some years scattered with abundant fruit those seeds of sacred and profound learning which he had gleaned in the schools of Ireland; but, subsequently, continuing his pilgrimage to the Continent, he was chosen Abbot of Walciodorum, now Wassous, on the Meuse, between Dinant and Givet, and died in the year 975, in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his continental pilgrimage.[2]

In the eleventh century, St. Dubthach renewed the fame of Ireland, for sanctity in the extreme north of Scotland. St. Dubthach, whose name has been corrupted to Dutach, and Duac, is styled in the Annals of Ulster, "præcipuus confessarius Hiberniæ et Alban," and his death is marked on the 8th of March, 1068. At Tayne, in the diocese of

1 The life of St. Blaithmac, by Strabo, in Latin hexameter verse, was inserted by Messingham in his "Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum," pag. 399, and has been often reprinted. See the Patrologia of Migne, vol. cxiii., pag. 1043.

2 The Life of St. Cadroe has been published by *Colgan*, Acta, pag. 494: snd by the *Bollandists*, Mart., tom. I., pag. 468.

Ross, his body was found incorrupt seven years after his death, and was translated to a precious shrine. Loch Duich and Kilduich derive their name from him. He was also honoured at Arbroath, and at Kilduthie near the Loch of Leys, and at Arduthie, close to Stonehaven.

I will close this long list of Irish saints with the name of Saint Malachy, for, as late as the twelfth century, the friendly bonds of religion, which united the churches of Ireland and Scotland, remained still unbroken St. Malachy O'Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh, twice visited Scotland. During his first visit he proceeded to the royal mansion of King David, where by his prayers he restored that monarch's son to health. It was during this visit that he constructed an oratory of wattles and clay, on the sea shore near Portpatrick, and blessed the adjoining cemetery, which after the manner of the Irish raths, he enclosed within a deep fosse. St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, writes that he not only gave directions to those that were engaged in this work, but that he laboured at it with his own hands. His second visit was just before he left Ireland to die. He had set his heart on building a monastery in Scotland, at a place called Viride Stagnum, *i.e.*, the Green Lake, and he now conducted thither some of the religious brethren from one of his own Irish communities, and marked out the foundations of the new monastery, which soon became famed for holiness, and was known in after times as Saulseat (*Sedes Animarum*). It is only from the records of the past that we learn the existence of this foundation of St. Malachy. The Viride Stagnum, with its green waters, still abides, but not a trace of the venerable monastery now remains. It was probably at this monastery that St. Malachy placed as abbot a holy man named Michael, who, when a monk at Bangor, in the county of Down, had been freed by the prayers of St. Malachy from a grievous infirmity, which affected him both in body and mind, and of whom St. Bernard says, "He now rules a monastery in Scotland, which was the last one founded by the saint."[1]

I cannot conclude this portion of our subject without some reference to the four fanciful legends on which Scottish writers of the last three centuries have so loved to dwell, and by which they have endeavoured to prop up their cherished theories regarding the early origin and the special tenets of their church. These theories, however, will not detain us long. The learned archæologists of the present day have mercilessly

[1] *St. Bernard,* Vit. S. Malach, cap. xii.

torn from them the mask of history under which they were disguised, and, when the false features have been laid aside, all that remains is found to be in perfect accord with what we have stated in the preceding pages, and serves to further illustrate in a remarkable way the close connection between the churches of Scotland and of our native island, of which we have been speaking.

A. The first legend regards St. Regulus or St. Rule, who is supposed to have flourished in Greece in the fourth century, and to have been invested at Patras, in Achaia, with the charge of the relics of the Apostle, St. Andrew. Being divinely admonished, he carried away a portion of these precious relics to Scotland, and deposited them at Rigmond, which thenceforward bore St. Andrew's name, and was honoured as the primatial See of Scotland. Modern research, indeed, has proved that it is most true that Rigmond, or Kil-Rigmond was the ancient name of St. Andrew's, but it has also proved that it continued to bear that name and none other till the eighth century. The first mention which we find of Kilrigmond points it out as a monastery of Irish religious, and, among other saints, our city patron, St. Canice, pursued there a life of holy seclusion for some time. Even St. Regulus himself is found to have been one of these Irish saints, and his name is none other than the Irish Riaghail. He was a cotemporary of St. Canice, and famed in our early church as Abbot of Muicinish, in Lough Derg, on the Shannon, and, like many of our saints, it is probable that he made North Britain the theatre of his missionary zeal, and closed his days at Kilrigmond. It was only in the year 736 that the Pictish monarch, in gratitude to God for a great victory which he had achieved, erected there a church in honour of his patron, St. Andrew, which he enriched with vast possessions, and which in the course of time became the royal and primatial Church of the whole kingdom. At the time that St. Andrew's was thus founded, Kilrigmond had the Irishman, Tuathal, for its Abbot, whose demise is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach, under the year 747.[1]

B. The second legend is connected with St. Boniface, whom it represents as born at Bethsaide, and ordained at Antioch, and promoted to the supreme dignity of the Tiara in Rome. Quitting the holy city, he is supposed to have proceeded to North Britain, and to have died at Rosmarky after converting its king, Nectan, and his people, and

[1] *Skene*, Chronicles, &c., pag. 76.

ordaining no fewer than one thousand Bishops. The Scottish antiquaries, however, are now agreed that St. Boniface was an Irish Saint, who is otherwise known by his Celtic name of Curitan. He accompanied St. Adamnan to Ireland, and assisted at the convention of Tara in the year 697, and he is honoured in the Irish Martyrologies on the 16th of March as Bishop and Abbot of Rosmarkyn in Scotland. Among those who accompanied St. Boniface to Scotland was the virgin saint who is only known to us by the latinized name Triduana. Her oratory and tomb, close to the church of the Blessed Virgin at Lestalrig, in Lothian, became one of the most famous pilgrimages of Scotland. The destruction of this church and sanctuary was the first act of official iconoclasm which marked the sad era of the triumph of Calvinism in Scotland, and on the 21st December, 1660, was published the decree in Edinburgh that the church of Lestalrig "be razed and utterly cast down and destroyed."[1]

C. The next legend sets before us St. Adrian, who, it asserts, was of royal birth and a native of Pannonia, in Hungary, and about the middle of the ninth century came with six thousand six hundred and six companions, to preach the faith in Alba, and after some years retired to the island of May, where he and his companions received the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the Danes in the year 875. Modern research has shown that St. Adrian is a latin form of the name of the Irish saint, St. Odhran; and it is probable that, with his Celtic community, he received the martyr's crown from the Danes in the year 875. The Pictish chronicle marks an incursion of the Danes in that year, and adds that they put many to death. The victims, however, are described not as *Hungari*, but as *Scoti*, which name in the Pictish chronicle designates the natives of Ireland.[2] The Breviary of Aberdeen attests that great honour was shown to our martyred countrymen in the Isle of May in later times. A monastery "of fair coursed masonry" was erected there, but was soon after destroyed by the Saxons, "the Church, however," it adds, "remains to this day, much visited for its miracles by the people; and there is a celebrated cemetery there, where the bodies of the martyrs repose." Boece writes that the island of May was rendered illustrious by these martyrs, "as well on account of the number of pilgrims who resort thither, as of the

[1] Book of the Univ. Kirk of Scotland, I., 5.

[2] "Scotti qui nunc corrupte vocantur Hibernienses." *Pictish Chronicle*, ap. Skene · Chronicles, &c., pag. 1., and clxii.

miracles which the goodness of God has superadded." One of St. Odhran's companions was St. Monan. Before his martyrdom he had laboured at Inverary in Fife. His relics were in later times translated thither, and King David the Second erected a noble church in his honour. Dr. Forbes writes that at present he is chiefly honoured at St Monan's, in the parish of Abercromby in Fife, where there is a fine church dedicated to him, picturesquely standing on the sea-shore.[1]

D. The last of the Scottish legends refers to the Culdees who, we are gravely told, formed a flourishing church in Scotland, in the second or third century of the Christian era. Boece even adds the names of some of these early Culdee saints: "Modocus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus et Carnocus." Polemical writers engrafted their own theological fancies on this historical fiction, till at length throughout the Scottish kirk it was religiously received as an axiom that those ancient Culdees were the pioneers and missionaries of the presbyterianism of our own days. All this, however, has melted away before the light of authentic history. Of the Culdee saints, who are named by Boece, Dr. Reeves writes: "Modocus is our Modoc of Ferns, who died in 624. Calanus, Ferranus, and Ambianus were no men if they were not Caelan, Forannan, and Abban, Irish saints of the sixth century; while Carnoc, the South Briton, adopted Ireland as his home."[2] Pinkerton was one of the first who gave a serious blow to the foolish Culdee theory of his countrymen. In his "Inquiry into the History of Scotland," published in 1789, he did not hesitate to write that: "The Culdees were surely only Irish clergy;" and again, "The Culdees united in themselves the distinctions of monks and of secular clergy; being apparently from Columba's time to the eleventh century, the only monks and clergy in Scotland, and all Irish, as formerly shown."[3] It was reserved, however, for Dr. Reeves to set at rest for ever this Culdee controversy, by his learned "Essay on the Culdees of the British Islands, as they appear in History," read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1860, and published in its Transactions vol. xxiv; and further light has since been added, regarding some of the details of the question, by the Scottish historian, Skene, in the second volume of his 'Celtic Scotland,' published in Edinburgh in 1877. The following are the conclusions which, through the labours

[1] *Forbes*, Kalendars, pag. 412.
[2] *Reeves* 'The Culdees of the British Islands," pag. 67.
[3] *Pinkerton*, vol. 2. pag. 272.

of these learned writers, have been placed in the clearest light. First, that the religious known as Culdees proceeded from Ireland to Scotland, and thus they serve as another link uniting together the early churches of these countries. Second, that it was not until the eighth century, after the time of St. Maelruan, that the Culdees formed their first communities in North Britain. Third, that they followed in Scotland the rules which they had brought with them from their parent monasteries in Ireland; that is to say, the religious rules which were drawn up for the Celides by St. Carthage and St. Maelruan, and which, being happily preserved to us, not only leave no doubt as to their perfect orthodoxy, but set before us, in the clearest light, the minutest details of the religious observance and exact discipline, and fervour of spirit, and love of holy church, which so characterised the saints of our country in the golden ages of her history.

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